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BYBLOS IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM: A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE  
STRATIGRAPHY AND A STUDY OF THE CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

by

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ABSTRACT

The first part of this thesis consists of a detailed analysis of more than sixty reconstructed architectural sections taken through different parts of the city. The results of this analysis yielded a sequence of archaeological periods KI to KIV, JI to JII covering the whole of the third mill. BC. Period L which represents the first occupational levels encountered in the sections, falls outside the scope of this study because it antedates the third mill. which is the subject of this dissertation. Periods KI to KIV form a series of homogeneous cultures which develop along similar lines. At the end of period KIV, a destruction befell the city and a new vigorous culture represented by two architectural stages JI/JII appears. The end of these periods coincided with a destruction which ushered in the beginning of a new era represented by periods H which cover the 1st half of the 2nd mill. BC.

The second part of the thesis is a study of the cultural links of Byblos during periods KI to KIV and JI/JII. Period KI is securely tied to the reigns of Djet/Den of the 1st Egyptian Dyn. and to the latter part of EBI Palestine. Egyptian influence is paramount during periods KIII/KIV which are contemporary to the IIIrd, IVth, Vth and VIth Egyptian Dynasties and to EBIII Palestine.

Subsequent to the destruction of KIV, Byblos JI/JII representing the last two centuries of the 3rd mill. BC., was under the cultural impact of the north. The main aspects of the new culture are the megaron style temples and the painted pottery. Signs of destruction

and great disturbances appear all over the site at the end of Byblos JII. It is the beginning of periods H which introduced the worship in hypaethral temples accompanied by rich votive gifts. These periods fall outside the scope of this study because they post date the 3rd mill. BC.

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AbbreviationsPeriodicals

AAAS	Les Annales Archeologiques Arabes Syriens, Damascus.
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven.
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Amman.
AFO	Archiv fur Orientforschung, Berlin.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, Cambridge (Mass).
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, Chicago.
Anatolia	Anatolia. Journal of the Institute for research in Near Eastern civilizations and languages, Ankara university.
AntJ	The Antiquaries Journal, Oxford.
Annuario	Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene, Rome.
ASt.	Anatolian Studies, Journal of the British Institute at Ankara, London.
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte, Cairo.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Connecticut.
Belleten	Turk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten, Ankara.
Berytus	Berytus - AUB - Beirut.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden.
BIA	Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology.
BMB	Bulletin du Musee de Beyrouth, Paris.
BMit	Baghdader Mitteilungen.
CAH2	Cambridge Ancient History, Revised, Cambridge.
EI	Eretz Israel, Annual of the Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem.

IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem.
ILN	Illustrated London News.
IRAN	Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies, London.
IRAQ	Iraq, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.
JEOL	Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux.
JESHO	Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient.
Kemi	Kemi. Revue de Philologie et d'Archeologie Egyptiennes et Coptes.
LAAA	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.
Levant	Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, London.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Abt., Kairo.
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft.
MJ	Museum Journal, Philadelphia.
MUSJ	Melanges de l'Universite Sant-Joseph de Beyrouth.
OIP	Oriental Institute, Chicago Publications.
Orientalia, N.S.	Orientalia, Nova Series, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Roma.
PEFA	Palestine Exploration Fund Annual, London.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly, London.
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, Jerusalem.



RB	Revue Biblique, Ecole Biblique et Archeologique de St. Etienne, Jerusalem.
RHA	Revue Hittite et Asianique.
SUMER	A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq, Baghdad.
Syria	Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archeologie, Institut Francais d'Archeologie de Beyrouth, Paris.
ZAS	Zeitschrift fur Agyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig.
ZAW	Zeitschrift fur die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastinaver eins, Leipzig.
<u>Books</u>	
AAAE	Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt.
AAM	Art of Ancient Mesopotamia.
AAAO	Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient.
AAT	Archaeologie und Altes Testament, Festschrift fur Kurt Gall ing.
'Ai	Les Fouilles de 'Ay (et-tell) 1933-1935.
'Amuq	Excavations in the Plain of Antioch , Vol. I.
Architecture I, II	A History of Egyptian Architecture, Vols. I and II.
BG	Byblia Grammatta.
BANE	The Bible and the Ancient Near East, ed. by G.E. Wright.
BE	Byblos et l'Egypte.
Chronologies	Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, 1967.
Cimetiere	Un Cimetiere Archaïque de la Classe Moyenne du Peuple a Saggarah.
CS	Cylinder Seals.



DAITA	Die Archaischen Ishtar Tempel in Assur.
Dendera	Dendera in the Third Mill BC. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt.
EEMW	Egypt and the East Mediterranean World, 2200 - 1900 BC.
FBI, II	Fouilles de Byblos, Tome I et II 1, 2, 1937 - 1958.
Glyptique	La Glyptique Mesopotamienne Archaïque.
HGN	History of Giza Necropolis.
Kish	Report on the Excavation of the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia, pt. I.
MAMI	Mission Archeologique de Mari I. Le Temple d'Ishtar.
MAMIII	Mission Archeologique de Mari III. Les Temples d'Ishtar et de Ninizaza.
Manuel	Manuel d'Archeologie Egyptienne.
NEATC	Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century.
Notes	Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo.
PDR	Pottery from the Diyala Region.
PMI	Palace of Minos, Vol. I.
PPEB	The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age.
RPS	Rapport Preliminaire sur Sept Campagne de Fouilles a Hama en Syrie (1932 - 1938).
SC	Stratigraphie Comparee et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale.
TPCP	Tombeaux de Particuliers Contemporains de Pèpi II.
UE	Ur Excavations.
<u>Miscellaneous</u>	
blg	building
d	diameter

ECI, II, III	Enceinte Sacree, Stages I to III.
h	height
L	Length
m.d.	Maximum diameter
O.T.	Obelisk temple
rec.	rectangle
r.d.	rim diameter
R.T.	Royal tombs
sq.	square
th.	thickness
T.P.	Tombeaux de particuliers
w	width

## INTRODUCTION.

### 1. The Site - Description.

The ancient city of Byblos is situated on a consolidated sand dune that juts out into the sea to form a steep cliff which, before excavation began, rose 24:00m a.s.l. The platform of the site stretched in terraces from the edge of that cliff to a culminating point of 35:40m a.s.l. between the Roman colonnade and the Crusaders' castle.<sup>1</sup> This elevation formed the summit of a little hillock that was 5:00-7:00m high above its environs:<sup>2</sup> it was formed by the accumulation of debris from occupational levels and mainly from those of the Medieval castle, (in fact five metres of debris had to be cleared before the excavators reached the Roman levels). Beyond that point the surface of the mound stretched gradually to the east, where it settled at the mouth of a slight depression that seemed to run in a semicircular line around the mound.<sup>3</sup>

Such was the appearance of the site before excavation began, but after superficial layers were cleared and soundings were dug, the natural topography of the mound was revealed. Two rocky ridges<sup>4</sup> occupying the north west and south eastern parts of the city are separated by a deep depression (the sacred well area and its eastern

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1. M. Dunand, FBI, p. 12.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

3. see Pl. I.

4. M. Dunand, in MUSJ, XXXVII (1960), p 39.

extension, plans I, II, grid sq. 8/14). The north west ridge rises gradually from the edge of the cliff (20:00m a.s.l.) to a maximum elevation of 28:00m a.s.l., a point slightly north west of the Baalat-Gebal temple. The elevation of the south east ridge, occupied by Area VII (Ill.1), does not exceed 24:00m. These variations in the surface make-up of the site explains the difference in height between contemporary levels encountered in the different Areas as will be demonstrated in the following chapter on stratigraphy.

Occupation of the site was extensive, especially in the north, east and central parts of the town. It became more and more compressed with houses as a result of the massive fortifications that encircled the city on its three sides, restricting its surface area to five hectares.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Brief History of Excavation and Publications.

The first scholarly attempt to explore Byblos was made by Ernest Renan, who was commissioned by Napoleon IIIrd, Emperor of France, to conduct a survey of ancient historical sites of that coast; the result of his finds gleaned from superficial soundings were published in 1864 in his book, Mission de Phenicie, two volumes of text and plates.

In 1921 the French Egyptologist, Pierre Montet, began a series of four campaigns which lasted till 1924. His soundings were limited to the north west part of the town. He uncovered some architectural

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5. Idem., Byblos, p. 20.



vestiges of the Baalat Gebal temple, and an adjacent building with colossal statues which were published under the names Temple Syrien and Temple Egyptien respectively. A landslide in 1922 uncovered a Royal tomb which eventually led to the discovery of eight other tombs. These finds as well as a Middle Bronze Age cemetery and a Chalcolithic tomb were all published in 1928 in his book Byblos et L'Egypte, two volumes of text and plates.

M. Maurice Dunand took over the excavation in 1925, and his work has continued until the present day. His earliest campaigns were limited to the northern part of the site where Montet had first cut his trenches; he uncovered the whole of this area until virgin soil. The results of these early campaigns appeared in 1939 as Fouilles de Byblos, tome I, in two volumes of text and plates.

The poor architectural vestiges that Montet had called the Temple Syrien, were revealed by Dunand to be a complex architectural structure.<sup>6</sup>

Also huge fortifications with regular buttresses on the inside were discovered by him on the northern limits of the town.

The second lot of publications appeared in 1954 and 1958 as Fouilles de Byblos, tome II, in three volumes, two texts and one plate, as well as five coloured plans that covered most of the town. These publications are the result of campaigns from 1933-1938. Further campaigns since then have been published as preliminary reports in the Bulletin du Musee

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6. Idem., FBI, pp. 79-88; 204-205; 290-308.



du Beyrouth,<sup>7</sup> but unfortunately information concerning the third millennium is very scrappy in these reports. However, it is expected that more Early Bronze Age levels should have been discovered in the west and extreme southern parts of the town, since only the superficial layers of these areas are recorded in the published plans.

### 3. Methods of Excavations and Publications.

Though the excavation of Byblos was almost entirely the work of M. Dunand, it is pertinent here to mention the method used by his predecessor, M. Montet, in his small share of uncovering the site. Aside from the chance discovery of the Royal tombs, Montet had cut a trench in the temple area, the finds of which were recorded in catalogue form with no attempt to relate them to any architectural features or grid. The only stratigraphic data he mentions is the distinction between objects found above a pavement in the Temple Syrien, and others that were found beneath that pavement.<sup>8</sup> More important than this, however, is the fact that no general plans of the excavated area or stratigraphical sections were published aside from very schematic sections based on inadequate sketches. These are irrelevant because they reproduce architectural data that were left out of context, and therefore could not be related to fixed points.

When M. Dunand took over in 1925, he improved on the work of his predecessor by laying out a grid of rectangles, which were, however, not all of uniform size. It is regrettable, though, that he did not

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7. See BMB , vol. XII - XVII (1955 - 1967).

8. P. Montet, BE, p. 47.

attempt to integrate the Montet trench on his plans, so as to give us an idea of its dimensions, and the levels of the finds, particularly that of the Montet jar. This would have avoided much controversy on this issue.<sup>9</sup>

The method Dunand adopted in his excavation consisted of a uniform uncovering or peeling off of the whole site by means of rigid horizontal layers, each 0:20m thick, and each designated by a Roman numeral. His datum point was chosen as 28:00m a.s.l., i.e. the peak of the rocky ridge west of the Baalat-Gebal temple (see plan I). From this point which corresponds to the top of Dunand's level I (28:00-27:80m), the excavator continued down to virgin soil at level XLII, or 19:60m a.s.l. The finds are recorded in catalogue form, usually with reference only to their grid rectangle and to their levee (i.e. to within a depth of 0:20m). Four architectural plans accompanied the first lot of publications; each plan records the architectural remains of ten arbitrary levels or two metres depth from the surface downwards. Plan CCVI for example carries on it all the elements that were found in levels I-X, i.e. between 28:00-26:00m a.s.l. and so on. It is only in the area of the Baalat Gebal temple that some further information is supplied in the text and on the plans, where architectural occupational features such as pillar supports, doorways, pavements, etc. are indicated.

The second lot of publications which appeared in 1950-1958 are a slight improvement in that they include five coloured plans covering the rest

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9. For the more correct location of this jar see Pl. XI:1 in this work.

of the town. On these plans, a square grid is superimposed, each square measuring 10:00 x 10:00m; reference to these squares is by means of Arabic numbers that are placed vertically and horizontally on the edges of the plan; a square in the middle could therefore be quoted as 12/15 or 15/17 etc. Roman numerals are still preserved for horizontal levels beginning, as in the previous publication, with level I (i.e. 28:00-27:00m) from the surface downwards to level XXV, the lowest level reached in these publications. Each of these coloured plans represents five such arbitrary levees, i.e. a depth of one metre of excavated remains. Each levée on the plan is shown by a different colour, grey for the uppermost 0:20m, yellow for the next, then blue, then red, while the last 0:20m levée is coloured green. The colour each wall carries represents its extant top within that 0:20m range, whereas its base is indicated by coloured hatchings. If a wall first appears for example at a level between 25:40-25:20m on plan cote<sup>10</sup> 26:00-25:00m, and its base descends to a level between 23:60-23:40m on plan cote 24:00-23:00m, the intermediary plan cote 25:00-24:00m does not show this wall in all its details, but presents it in outline only.

As in volume I, the objects are recorded in catalogue form, with reference to their square grids. Roughly about a third of the objects are marked exactly on the plans, although their heights are only known to within a limit of 0:20m.

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10. i.e. depth from datum line. Reference to these plans throughout this study is according to their cote levees because these plans are not numbered.



A very serious problem in interpreting this data is the apparant lack of co-ordination between M. Dunand and his architect; as a result, some misleading information and explanatory notes about the plans were published. On page 5 of volume III, for example, the excavator states that walls which are drawn on the coloured plans in black and white, but with all the details of their construction, belong to Roman and Byzantine buildings. Such information is contradictory to the fact, because there are many walls which belong to much earlier levels, but are still represented on the plans in black and white only, whereas some Roman walls are shown in colour on the plans. One striking example of such contradiction is the cella of the Chapelle Orientale (fig. 19). On plan cote 25:00-24:00m, it is given in detail in black and white, though it falls exactly below the coloured walls of the same temple which is registered on a higher level in plan cote 26:00-25:00m. Such confusion is mainly due to the method of excavation employed at Byblos. After every five horizontal levées (a total of 1:00m in depth) had been excavated, all walls and objects were removed and a new survey of the area was conducted even though some of the already recorded walls continued further down. The result was that many of the broken walls appearing on more than one plan do not fit exactly as they should. Moreover, it seems that this method has left the excavator, in many cases, in doubt whether parts of the walls belong to the same blg, or whether they represent new structural phases. Because of this, some walls are neither coloured in the successive plans to show that they are new walls, nor are they left

blank (i.e. walls without any details of their construction except for two parallel lines showing their outline) to indicate that these parts of the walls are a continuation of the upper walls, but as was stated above, they are given with all their details and in black and white only.

It is apparent from the above discussion that the disadvantages of the excavation method and the failings of the publications are numerous. The most serious of these are the following:

1. no stratigraphical sections were taken; at least none was ever published.
2. floor levels are not recorded.
3. doorways do not appear on plans, and rarely do other architectural occupational features.
4. precise location, extent or thickness of levels of destruction and remains of fire are rarely recorded.
5. disturbances were not eliminated.
6. no general plan of the whole site was published.
7. lack of co-ordination between plans of volume I and those of volume II, due to difference of scale and form of grid.
8. lack of co-ordination between text and plans.
9. objects are given in reference to their grid and not in relation to the architectural remains.



#### 4. Method of Present Study.

1. The site was divided into seven main areas I-VII, to facilitate its study, taking into consideration the layout of the city whereby most areas are physically separated from each other by main roads or alleys (Ill 1).
2. Each area was then divided into small architectural units. The attempt was to select units, the walls of which appear to be related.
3. two sections were taken across each unit; in some units such as the Obelisk temple, five sections were taken through it.
4. these sections followed the walls of those specific units from the top levels 28:00-27:80m down to the lowest published between 23:20-23:00m.
5. floor levels are only plotted when architectural occupational features such as stone bases, pavements, door sills, top of projected foundations etc. appear on the plans.
6. all objects plotted on the plans within these units or objects which fall within grids occupied by these units are drawn on the same sheet of the reconstructed sections.

An inflated vertical scale in relation to the horizontal is adopted in this study so as to enable us to assemble plans, sections and objects on the same sheet and plot floors as well as related objects across the different levels of these sections. This would have been impossible to accomplish had we applied the minute scale of the plans to the elevation of the walls.

7. Reconstructed sections were taken through several Areas as a summary of the detailed analysis of the small architectural Units (cf. figs. 7e, 12b, 25a).
8. The analysis of the reconstructed architectural sections yielded a sequence of archaeological periods, as a result of which, it was possible for the first time to assemble and co-ordinate all the Byblos architecture on two plans, I and II, representing two chronological eras.

However, reconstructing Byblos is a most laborious task and the difficulties encountered are numerous. It is sufficient to point out the failings of the excavation and publication methods presented above in section 3, to envisage the hard task facing every researcher who attempts a reconstruction of this city. Added to the above difficulties, it was discovered that after reconstructing the walls in sections, some did not fit exactly as they should. Remembering that ancient walls, as excavated, are not always absolutely vertical, therefore, reproducing them in parts on different plans is bound to lead to some irregularities. Also, granted that the walls were absolutely vertical, the error comes from the part of the surveyor no matter how accurate he is. It is impossible to avoid minute shifts in measurements if a resurvey of the whole area is conducted after the removal of all architectural remains of every five arbitrary levels. A third factor which could have contributed to this confusion is probably the result of the different techniques of printing and types of paper used. In the case of the Byblos publication

the first two coloured plans were printed in Beirut, while the remaining three were printed in France, and on a completely different type of paper; knowing that papers stretch to varying degrees according to their kind and quality, one therefore expects such discrepancies.

Finally, the only merit that can be seen in the catalogue form of publication is that it incorporates almost every single object that was found during the excavation. The majority of these objects are either drawn or photographed; only a relatively few objects were not illustrated at all.

#### 5. Presentation of Material.

This study is divided into two major parts. The first deals with the stratigraphy and relative chronology of Byblos; the second is a study of cultural links, architecture and ceramics.

In Chap. I A, a brief discussion of the general layout of Byblos KIII/KIV and JI/JII is presented accompanied by plans I and II.

Chap. I B, which forms the basis of this thesis, consists of a detailed analysis of the reconstructed architectural sections (figs. 1 - 25a) taken through small Units in Areas I to VII. The results of each Area are summarized under a relative chronological scheme encompassing periods L, KI to KIV, JI to JII and H. A discussion of the development and typology of the ceramic industries of periods KI to JII based on the chronological scheme developed in Chap. I B, is presented in Chap. II.

In the second part, (Chap. III, sections A and B), the development



of sacred and domestic architecture as well as their cultural links are fully discussed. Chap. III C is an attempt to explain the possible ancient methods of construction at Byblos as revealed by archaeological remains. These methods are illustrated in two Pls. XXXV and XXXVI.

The purpose of Chap. IV is twofold:

1. To give the Byblite architectural sequence a chronological significance by linking it to Egypt (and Palestine also, see Chap. IV, notes 2 and 3).
2. To investigate the possible origin of the new culture, represented by periods JI/JII, which appeared at Byblos after the breakdown of relations between the latter country and Egypt at the end of the VIth Egyptian Dyn. Also an assessment of the significance of this new culture as well as the reasons behind its widespread connections are given.

It is regrettable that the pottery illustrated in this study is not drawn to scale. The reasons are beyond the control of the present writer. In a recent visit to the Beirut Museum for the purpose of drawing all the Byblos pottery, I sadly discovered that only a third of the vessels are available. The rest are kept in a dépot or warehouse at Byblos for the exclusive use of the excavator. It would have been possible to put this pottery to scale, photographically, but apart from being a costly method, it is not exact. Instead, a separate sheet is appended to each pottery Plate giving the nos. of vessels drawn on each Plate, their exact measurements, location within the architectural sequence and their relative dates.

FIRST PART

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STRATIGRAPHY OF BYBLOS  
IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM BC.



Chapter I A.The General Layout of the City.<sup>1</sup>

The layout of Byblos reflects an urban network which persisted for a very long time. It is functionally related to the fortifications and to the temples which form the city's nucleus. At the heart of the city lies the Sacred Well (sq. grid 8/14) around which are grouped the three major temples: the Baalat-Gebal to the north west, the Enceinte Sacree to the west and the Obelisk complex to the south east. A Sacred Pool<sup>2</sup> surrounded by a battered wall was carved between the Baalat complex and temple XIII which preceded the Obelisk complex (Plan I). The fortifications restrict the city's area to five hectares only.<sup>3</sup> Within this small area there is evidence of zoning. It was seen above that the temples are located in the centre. Overlooking the sea on the western promontory, large residences are erected probably for the officials or princes of the city. Facing the Baalat-Gebal in the north east are workshops of various artisans.<sup>4</sup> The residential areas which are compact are marked off by a system of roads<sup>5</sup> (marked A, B, C and D on the accompanying plans) cut across the city. These are rather narrow (especially road D)

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1. See plans I and II.

2. FBI, pp. 288-289.

3. M. Dunand, Byblos, p. 20.

4. Evidence of these workshops being located in that area comes from later periods. It is not known whether this area had a similar function in the earlier periods. See fig. 13, analysis of phase 8.

5. For references to all these roads see the architectural plans

and winding, their widths varying from 1:50m to 3:50m. Their corners are often rounded off to ease circulation (Plan I, corner of roads A and f).

Road A: branches from the north east gate and takes a north western course leading to the Sacred Pool and continuing northwards till it reaches the northern fortifications. The distance it crosses is 180m approximately.

Road B: starts from the same place as road A, but takes a southward course parallel to the eastern fortifications running along a distance of + (?) 180m<sup>6</sup> which brings it to the southern limit of the city where a postern gate<sup>7</sup> pierces the fortifications at this side.

Road C: divides the city into northern and southern parts; it appears to commence in sq. 17/17 branching off from road A. It then continues westward past buildings of periods K, crossing road D and skirting the southern part of a KI/KIV complex (blg XIX) which precedes what came later to be known as the Champ des Offrandes; it then continues further west, where it gets lost among Hellenistic and Persian constructions.

in FBI and FBII.

6. This distance is estimated according to the area that appears on the coloured plans; the line of the southern fortifications does not appear on these plans, therefore one cannot estimate how further south the road has to go still.
7. FBIII, pp. 128 and 273; Dunand, Supplement VII, (1966) col. 1160.

Road D: begins somewhere near the Sacred Well, or probably near the southern part of the Enceinte Sacrée temple. It then takes a southern course passing the above mentioned complex and continuing southward like road B, till it reaches the fortifications above the wadi which limit the city on this side. The distance this road covers cannot be estimated since it is far from clear where it does exactly originate.

Moreover, there are minor roads or lanes (e, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q and y) which radiate from within compact residential areas to the foot of the fortifications where building activity was apparently restricted by some ordinance which required the leaving of a road, z, two metres wide parallel to the defences.<sup>6</sup> According to this pattern of roads, the city was divided into seven main areas, I - VII.

Subsequent to the destruction of Byblos KIV, a new era represented by periods JI/JII begins (Chap. I B, Summaries I - VII). Certain changes take place in the layout of the city. Roads C and D are no longer functional since a good part of these two roads is incorporated within the courtyard of the Champ des Offrandes (fig. 9 and Plan II). The Sacred Pool is no longer the focal point for the temples which now uniformly face the east (chap. III A). It is reported that this Pool had dried out and had been filled in and used as a public place.<sup>8</sup> There is also evidence of dezoning as

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8. FBI, pp. 288-289.

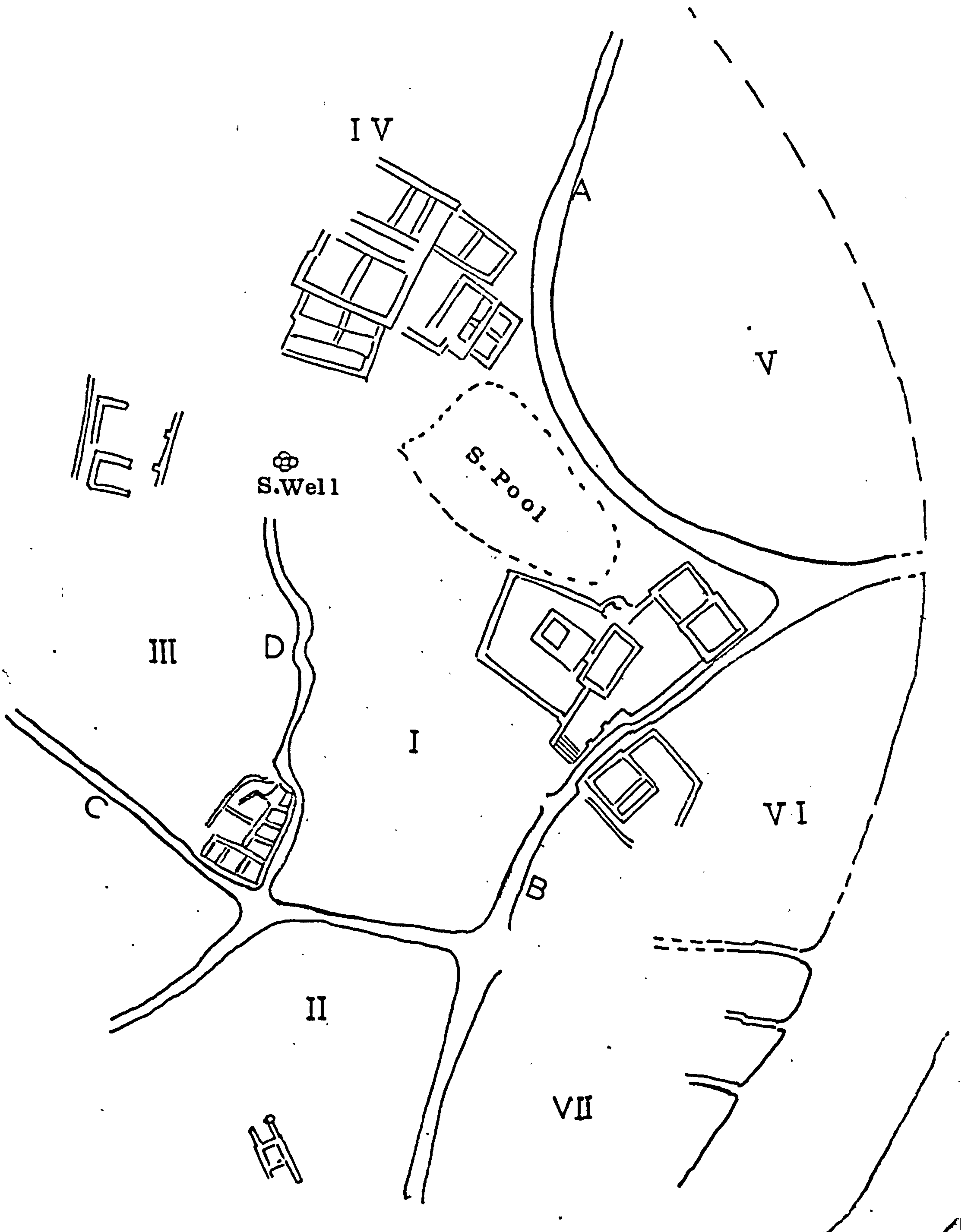


apart from rebuilding earlier temples, new ones now occur in different parts of the city. The newly located temples include the Champ des Offrandes, megaron XVII (in the extreme south of the city), probably a tower temple constructed with fortification III (fig. 21b), as well as an unpublished temple<sup>9</sup> built in the south east part of the city facing a palace (Pl. XXXII) probably erected for the 'ensi who ruled Byblos during periods JI/JII (chap. III B; see Plan II for the location of these new temples).

Very little is known concerning the internal network which connects the residential areas during periods JI/JII since these levels are badly preserved. However, slight evidence of a new system of arteries exists. A new lane x has been laid during these two periods (cf. fig. 17), whereas in Area VII, lane n which was in use throughout periods KII/KIV is now blocked (cf. figs. 21, 21a and 22).

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9. FBII, PL. CCXII, no. 29.





Chap. I B.Analysis of Reconstructed Architectural Sections.

The nature and method used in this study have been sufficiently explained in the Introduction. In this context a few notes relevant to the reconstructed architectural sections will be given. The following conventions apply to all figures unless stated otherwise.

Walls which are solidly inked represent periods KI to KIV.

Walls which are cross-hatched represent periods JI to JII.

Walls which are spotted belong to periods H. Though these periods fall outside the scope of this study, the clear and important sequence they present in figs. 7-7a, 9, 11 and 13 prompted the present writer to discuss them briefly in the analysis.

Walls which are left blank are not discussed in this study. They fall outside the limits of this work.

Walls which precede the KI levels or those which underlie all reconstructed walls, are often spotted. These can be easily differentiated from the H periods walls, because they appear at the bottom of the sections.

Paved floors, podiums (platforms), staircases and fortifications are diagonally hatched. The plotted floors in the sections usually carry the number of the phase they represent.

Jar deposits plotted in the sections are heavily outlined so that they could be easily differentiated from the rest of the finds.

Objects which are plotted on Dunand's plans, are marked vertically in

the sections and underlined. Objects, the levels of which are only known to within 1:00m depth, are also marked vertically in the sections but they are not underlined. Objects which are recorded from within grid sqs. occupied by the relevant architectural Units are marked horizontally in the sections.

Finally, all one-handled vessels, whether jugs or juglets are classified as jugs in chapter II.

AREA I, Ill. 1

Lies in the heart of the city and is surrounded on its north-east, east, south, and the major part of its western side by the main roads of the city, A, B, C and D, respectively. On the north side and skirting the northern wall of the Obelisk temple is the Sacred Pool. To the west of this temple lies a monumental building<sup>1</sup> of which very little appears on the plans. It is an important area because it reveals a succession of chronological periods and incorporates an important structure, that of the Obelisk temple, as well as six other Units.

Unit A (sqs. 13-14/16-17; fig. 1)

Phase 1: The earliest phase of this unit seems to comprise walls v, k, L, t and u, which form a rectangular house, no. I, with a partition set at one third the length of the building. The walls of house I are plastered;<sup>2</sup> they are flimsy but straight. West of house I, and at a right angle to it, are remains of a similar house IA. Superimposed on both houses are the deep foundations of later walls (see below, phase 3).

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1 For a reconstruction of this building, see FB, vol. 112, p. 896/97 & Pl. VI in this study.

2 On plan (cote 24:00-23:00m) there are fine small dashes along the inner face of walls t, k and v, to indicate that they are plastered. For a description of such architectural conventions, see FB. vol. III, p. IX.

In section AA, a gap between 0.20-0.40m exists between walls k, L, of phase 1, and walls, e1-e2 and j, of the structures above; while in section BB, the gap is between 0:40-0:80m. The only wall which appears to bridge this gap is wall x 1 which belongs to another Unit of a subsequent phase. It will be discussed later. Only the top of the walls of house I are shown on the coloured plan, cote 24:00-23:00m; they are preserved to a point between 23:40-23:00m. Their bases therefore should be found at a certain level below 23:00m.<sup>3</sup>

It was stated above that some of the walls of house I show traces of plastering, and since it is inconceivable that foundations of simple secular houses were plastered, these walls must have been preserved to a level above the floor they enclose. On the other hand, wall L does not show these occupational features and therefore will be considered as foundational. On this assumption the floor of room k-L of house I must be higher than the floor of hall k-v of the same house. In fact all through the history of this Unit one notices that the site slopes down northward at this particular plot (see especially fig. 7C).

A pottery deposit, nos. 18786-18791, is marked on plan 24:00-23:00m as lying in the eastern corner of wall L, and at the same level of the top of that wall. Most likely this deposit was found beneath the

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3 Nothing was published below this level in the series of the coloured plans. Only in the 1939 plans, excavations reached level XLII or virgin soil. See the Introduction for a detailed explanation of Dunand's publications and method of excavation.



floor of room k-L, the level of which must be higher than that of the deposit (see FB II, Pl. CCVI where this deposit is shown in situ).

Objects: The vessels nos. 18786-18791 which were found in the corner of house I have a metallic shine (except nos. 18790-18791) due to much burnishing; their clay is well fired and hard.

Sq. 14/17:

- 18786: a jug with a long narrow neck and a vertical loop handle from rim to shoulder; elongated body with a narrow flat base; it is covered with a light red slip vertically burnished.  
h.O.176; m.d.O.077.
- 18787: not illustrated, but is similar to the above; traces of vertical burnishing.  
h.O.26; m.d.O.13.
- 18789: a jug with a tall cylindrical neck, and handle from mid-neck to belly; short body and flat base; it has a shiny red slip covering the base and the inside of the cylindrical neck.  
h.O.285; d.O.12.
- 18790: a big jug similar to 18786; but is more concave at lower part; two small ear lugs are set at mid-body; dark red slip with vertical burnishing.  
h.O.335; m.d.O.16.
- 18791: a big jug with a broad curved body; slightly concave at lower part; short narrow neck with a small handle from rim to shoulder; black patches on body; no traces of slip.  
h.O.335; m.d.O.23.  
Level: 23:40-23:20m.

Phase 2: very slight architectural remains appear. Wall x 1, which bridges the gap between house I of the previous phase and blg. II of phase 3 belongs to blg. V of Unit C (fig. 3). Wall x 2 of the same blg. also cuts across wall u of house I, but this wall does not appear in the section (see bottom plan). Wall j partly



overlies wall L, but is separated from it by a gap of 0.20m.

This gap is probably the result of an intrusive pit cut by the builders of this or the succeeding phase, but it could also present a chronological gap. Apparently, there is a shift in house planning and orientation, because walls x 1 and x 2 of building V as well as wall j are built on a different alignment from the walls of the previous phase. No objects could be assigned to this phase.

Phase 3: A new layout is apparent in this phase initiated by building II. Apparently there is a northward shift because the southern part of building II covers only a small part of grid sq. 14/17, whereas the earlier house I covers a major part of that grid (fig. 1, bottom plan). Lane Y which is contemporary with building II, skirts the southern facade of the latter. This building has massive walls (gl, q, s and sl) with deep foundations, and is trapezoidal in plan.

The tops and bases of these walls are preserved to varying heights. Walls gl and s for example, plunge down their foundations to a point between 23:40-23:00m; i.e. about 0.50-0.80m deeper than the bases of walls d, el-2 and p. The reason for this, as was mentioned above, is the south-north pitch of the mound at this particular point. This situation has affected the floors of the building which are not all at the same level. The floor of room gl-d could be  $\pm 23:75m$  according to the surface level of an extant stone base which was found in the same room. The floors of rooms S-Y1 and Y1-P are plotted at  $\pm 24:10m$

according to the level of wall Y1 which probably is a door sill, (sec. BB) and according to the surface level of a stone base which is set against wall S1.

Wall x belongs to blg. VI of Unit C, fig. 3. It is later than this phase because it overlies lane y which is contemporary with the construction of blg. II (see Summary of this Area under period KIV). Most probably, blg. II with its massive walls lasted for a long period of time and was rebuilt in the succeeding period. Unfortunately, no objects are marked on the plans which could be specifically related to this phase of blg. II.

Phase 4: blg. II is rebuilt on the same earlier lines. Evidence of rebuilding is seen in the double walls, d, q1, or the thickened wall p1, an obvious attempt at strengthening the new blg. The stone base which is set against wall s1, and was discussed above in phase 3, is now overlaid by a ?bench, the surface level of which is between 24:80-24:60m. Also remains of a pavement appear against wall d at a level between 24:60-24:40m. These occupational features help to plot the floor level of this phase at  $\pm$  24:55m. Wall h, which is built on the other side of lane y, is most probably contemporary with this blg. (sect. AA). Wall x belongs to blg. VI of Unit C (fig. 3) but it should be contemporary with this phase of blg. II (sect. BB).

#### Objects.

Sq.13/17:

17117: a small bowl with a flattened base and everted rim.

Very thin walls with slight carination in the middle.  
 h.0.04; d.0.07.  
 Level: it was found between 25:00-24:00m after the  
 demolition of all walls.

Phase 5: fig. 1 clearly shows that building II has been destroyed.

New flimsy walls z, y, n and remains of a pavement e which form building III, replace the earlier thick walls of building II. The floor of this building is plotted  $\pm$  25:50m according to the given surface level of pavement e. Apparently there is a shift in layout in this phase. With the exception of wall p none of the walls of building II are reproduced in building III. Most probably, wall xa which overlies wall x of building VI (fig. 3) is contemporary with this phase. It is unlikely that the gap which features in section BB between the bases of the walls of building III and the floor of building II is the result of a pit. Probably it is due to an accumulation of debris from building II which, as was stated above, seems to have been destroyed at the end of phase 4A. The following objects can be associated with building III, because they are recorded from grid sqs. which are partly occupied by this blg.

#### Objects.

##### Sq.13/16:

14636: a small goblet with a flat base and thin walls which splay largely at the upper part; rim is slightly inturned.  
 h.0.052; d. of mouth, 0.076.

14637: a small bowl with rounded base and regular thin walls; rim slightly curved-in.  
 h.0.043.  
 Level: 24:80-24:60m.

##### sq.13/15:

14192: a small blackish bowl with flat slightly concave base:

regular walls with a slight constriction below beaded rims.

h.O.043; d.O.084.

Level; 25:00-24:80m.

Phase 6: Apparently building III was also destroyed, and the walls were approximately razed to floor level. In section BB, a large gap separates the walls of this phase from the structures above, while in section AA, fragments of walls g and a4 (see section AA) are the only extant architectural elements which appear within this gap. However, occupation of this Unit must have been continuous as is evidenced from the objects listed below. It will be seen that these vessels usually appear at Byblos in stratigraphical contexts subsequent to Byblos JI/JII. Thus they must be attributed to the early Middle Bronze Age (see infra chap. II and IV). Henceforth objects subsequent to that period will not be subject to any description.

Objects: the following objects were found in grid sqs. 13-14/17, which are partly covered by this unit.

Sq. 13/17:

12470- three fragments of votive cones made of coarse clay.

12471: They have thick sides and are badly fired.

h.O.075; 0.07; 0.107.

12472: a light coloured pitcher with an oval shaped body and rounded base; handle and rim are broken; it is decorated with zones of parallel red bands and wavy lines in the middle.

h.O.135.

12473: a similar pitcher with a pinched mouth, but without decoration.

h.O.138.

Level: 25:80-25:60m.

12793: a reddish bowl with a rounded base, upright sides and



plain rim.  
h.O.045; d.O.13.  
Level; 25;60-25;40m.

sq. 14/17;

12509: a drab miniature bowl with thick sides,  
h.O.018.  
Level; 25;80-25;60m.

12117: a long spout of a jug covered with a thick red lustrous  
slip.  
l.O.107.  
Level; 26;00-25;80m.

Phases 7 + 8: The architectural remains from these phases are  
extremely disturbed; walls are broken and no coherent plan is  
recognisable. Roman foundations plunge down to a level between  
27;60-27;40m; these remains post date the Middle Bronze Age.

Unit B (sqs. 14-15/18-19: fig. 2)

Phase 1: Is represented by a heterogeneous collection of walls  
which do not suggest any architectural form (these are walls g1,  
g2 and g3; see bottom plan of fig. 2).

Phase 2: Represents the first phase of building IV, because the  
extant walls of this building show the same layout as the succeeding  
phase. One stone base in the corner of walls f1-f2 gives the floor  
level of this phase as  $\pm$  23;30m.

Objects:

Sq. 14/19;

18792: a bone pin with a flattened and perforated head,  
L.O.088.  
Level: 23;40-23;20m.



Phase 3: Walls n, g, h, o and f, form an irregular structure, building IV which is trapezoidal in plan. The walls are thick and solid. The foundation of wall h projects on either side, while the foundation of wall n projects on the inner side only. The top of these foundations is given between 24:20-24:00m. Thus the floor of room n-h can be plotted  $\pm 24:10m$  approximately level with the top of these foundations. Three stone agglomerations or pillar supports, appear in the north-eastern room of this building. The surface level of two of these bases gives the floor of the room at  $\pm 24:10m$ .

The surface level of the third stone base placed in the same room is given at a higher level (24:60-24:40m) than the other two bases discussed above. Probably this variation in height indicates a second occupational floor, the level of which could be plotted at  $\pm 24:50m$ .

Phase 4: It is probable that at this stage building VI of Unit C (fig. 3) was built adjacent to this Unit (see fig. 2, second plan from bottom) and that the second floor of blg. IV discussed above should belong to this phase. Walls f and h of the latter are not bonded to wall L1 of blg. VI. Whether these two Units formed a single building at this stage, cannot be proved, because no means of communication is attested between the two Units, but their contemporaneity is almost certain. This can be deduced from the approximate levels of the floors of the two buildings, the similarity

in their wall construction, and the apparent destruction both buildings were subject to (see fig. 2-3) at the end of this phase.

It is unfortunate that no finds are precisely recorded from this building.

Phase 5: is represented by scanty architectural remains. The walls are broken and do not seem to be related. In section AA, a gap of about 1.00m thick exists between the walls of phase 4 and those of the structures above. Only wall x bridges this gap, but it does not seem to be related to any apparent structure. In section BB, wall y overlies wall o of phase 4. It is the only wall in section BB which appears between the walls of the preceding phase and those of phase 6. It is a broken wall and part of it is preserved to a maximum elevation of 0.40m, while the other part still stands to 1.00m approximately. Wall y blocks lane q (see plans I, 11 ).

The following objects were found in grid sq. 15/18, which is mainly covered by walls x, y, within levées at either approximate or much higher levels than the top of the walls of the preceding phase (see fig. 2, section AA).

None of the following objects is located on the plans. In fact it is rather difficult to assign exactly which group of objects belongs to this or to the succeeding phase. Since these two phases are characterized by great disturbances, as is evidenced from their

broken walls, it would not be surprising if a certain amount of contamination exists among the objects of both phases. However, the following objects constitute a more or less homogeneous group which appears in other Units in post destruction levels, at the end of period KIV, either within architectural gaps or associated with new buildings (cf. infra chap. II).

Sq. 15/18:

15665. a squat pot with rounded sides, and a very short neck with slightly everted rim; four vertically perforated lugs are placed below the shoulder. It is covered with a red lustrous slip.  
h.O.102.
- 15666; a vase with rounded sides and a gently pointed base; narrow neck with slightly splaying sides and simple rim; three vertically perforated knobs are placed below the shoulder. It is covered with a red slip which is vertically burnished.  
h.O.088.  
Level: 24;60-24;40m.
- 14656: a bronze pin with a flattened and rolled head,  
Not illustrated,  
L.O.086.
- 14657; a hemispherical bowl with a high button base. It is made of light clay and is covered with a shiny red slip extending 4 mill. inside below the rim. Not illustrated.  
h.O.056; d. at rim 0.083.
- 14658; a small globular juglet with a narrow straight neck and a circular plain rim. It has a circular handle slightly raised above rim to shoulder; the base is gently pointed. It is made of brownish clay mixed with grits of limestone; no slip.  
h.O.086.
- 14659- six short pot stands with splaying ends; one is reddish,  
14664: the rest are light in colour.  
h. from 0.035-0.044; m.d. from 0.058-0.066.
- 14665: a miniature pot made of reddish clay.  
h.O.025; d.O.042.  
Level: 24;80-24;60m.



14250: a jug with a broad body and large flat base; it has a short narrow neck with a small circular handle from rim to shoulder; white horizontal bands cover the red surface of the jug.  
h.O.205; d.O.165.  
Level: 25:00-24:80m.

Phase 6: In this phase also the architectural remains are greatly disturbed. The bases and tops of walls m2, m3 and b1 are all at the same level. It seems that wall x of phase 5 is re-used in this phase. Needless to stress that the gap which exists between walls m2, m3, b1 and the underlying walls of phase 4, is the result of a great destruction and could not be the result of an intrusive pit for example. The change in lay-out, the broken walls and the appearance of new material culture favour such an assumption.

Objects:

Sq. 15/18:

13171- three spherically shaped pottery beads; two are reddish,  
13173: while no. 13172 is yellowish with streaks of black burnishing.  
th.O.026; 0.022; 0.013; d.O.017, 0.03, 0.034.  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

13174: a hollowed bone tube with perforation at one end; it is decorated with fine incisions,  
l.O.078,  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

13168: a thick bronze axe largely perforated at the butt; the cutting edge is missing; three wavy parallel lines appear above the break,  
l.O.122; m.th.O.014,  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

13919- a bronze deposit the altitude of which is not given in  
13922: an 0.20m spit as the rest of the objects because it was found after the demolition and the removal of all the walls between cote 26:00-25:00m. Thus its position in relation



to the level of the walls cannot be precisely determined.  
The description of these bronze objects is as follows:

- 13919: a dagger blade with a short tang; it has three rivet-holes, two in the tang, the third in the butt. Not illustrated.
- 13920: a big flat axe with splayed edge and a rounded butt.  
l.0.215; w. at edge 0.073.
- 13921: a long brooch with a square section and tapering ends; one end is folded to form a knot.  
l.0.50.
- 13922: a long, flat and narrow axe with a circular perforation at the butt; the cutting edge is slightly broader.  
l.0.215; w. at edge 0.029.
- 12834: a small offering table of very fine limestone; the sides are unworked which probably shows that this table was embedded or sunk leaving only its surface showing; a rectangular basin is carved on one side of the table, and a hole is drilled at the edge of the basin leading to a deep circular cavity; probably this object served as a libation tray rather than an offering table. The presence of this object among so many other finds (particularly the bronze deposit mentioned above) indicates probably the cultic character of this spot.  
l.0.45; w.0.155; th.0.085.  
Level; 25;60-25;40m.
- Sq. 14/18;
- 12817: remains of an ivory tusk with fluted surface.  
l.0.045; d.0.04.  
Level; 25;60-25;40m.
- 12816: an elliptical thick ivory plate perforated at the centre. Both sides end in a projection but they are broken.  
m.d.0.046; th.0.014.
- 12819: a greyish pot stand with splaying edges.  
h.0.042; d. of edges 0.063 and 0.066.
- 12820: an unusual bowl or pot stand resting on a high cylindrical base; body is sharply carinated ending in a high cylindrical neck. It is covered with a white slip.  
h.0.052; m.d.0.07; d. of neck and base 0.027.  
Level; 25;60-25;40m.

Phases 7 + : Walls overlap; the character of the finds which can be related to these walls, especially nos. 11217, 10194 and 10190, are definitely post third millennium.

Unit C (sqgs. 12-14/18-19: fig. 3)

It is apparent from fig. 3 that this Unit has gone through four major structural periods as is evident from the difference in the architectural planning of each building.

Phase 1: walls a3, d3, L3 and x3 underlie all other walls of this Unit, and are on a different alignment from them. Thus they constitute the earliest phase of this Unit. Wall u which belongs to blg. I, (fig. 1) is contemporary with them.

Phase 2: overlying the walls of phase 1, appears house V. Its walls L2, x1, x2 and y1 enclose two, probably more, spacious rectangular rooms built on the same axis. The walls are not solid, but they are straight and form right angles at the corners. Probably walls z and z1 were added later to house V because they are not bonded to it. Besides, the walls of house V are straight whereas walls z and z1 are crooked.

House V, which is later than house 1 of Unit A, (wall x2 of the former house cuts into and overlies wall u of house 1, (second plan from bottom and fig. 1), was built before lane y, which is contemporary with blg. II of Unit A, was constructed. Therefore house V must be contemporary with phase 2 of Unit A since it is later than house I and earlier than building II of that Unit.

- Objects: It is not possible to ascribe any objects specifically to house V, because nothing in relation with this blg. is located on the plan. But, because this Unit occupies a part of grid sq. 14/19 as well as a great part of grid sq. 13/18, everything that was found in both grid sqs. (14/19 and 13/18) is illustrated on fig. 3.
- Sq. 13/18 a big jar<sup>4</sup> with elongated body and sloping shoulders;  
19259: it has a broad high neck and overhanging rim; base is large and flat, while the surface is combed in contrasting bands.  
 h.O.93.
- 18507: fragment of a basalt mortar in the shape of a tripod.  
 h.O.12; L.O.25.  
 Level: 23:60-23:40m.
- Sq. 14/19 a bronze ring with a circular section.  
17895: d.O.025.
- 17899: a conical cup with a narrow flat base and a simple rim; traces of wheel striations appear on the surface.  
 h.O.062.  
 Level: 23:80-23:60m.
- Phase 3: the foundations of blg. VI appear to overlap with the tops of the walls of blg. V. But in fact a chronological interlude must have existed between these two blgs. Most probably the whole of this phase has been wiped out. This hypothesis is based on the fact that house V of phase 2 existed and went out of use before lane Y (see fig. 1 & 7 f.) was constructed, whereas blg. VI blocks that lane (Plan I). This proves that blg. VI is later than blg. II (Unit

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4. Description of the jar is according to the excavator's reconstruction; see FB, 112. p.1076. This jar is not given within an 0.20m levée as usual because it was found during the course of demolishing all walls between levels 24:00-23:00m.



A, phase 3) which is contemporary with lane Y, whereas blg V is definitely earlier than blg II.

Phase 4: blg VI is a big rectangular structure 18:00 x 8:00m with a partition set in the middle. It is open towards the east and remains of piers on either end of walls L1 and m1 still appear. The top of the foundation of wall y which projects on the east side of that wall forming a ledge that approximately levels with the floor, is between 24:80-24:60m. The floor therefore could be plotted  $\pm$  24:70m. That the floor could not have been lower than this level is corroborated by the fact that the base of the western part of wall L1 is between 24:60-24:40m (sec. BB). The low level ( $\pm$  24:30m) of the stone lumps which are set along the eastern part of wall L1 and in the corner of walls L1-x indicate that these are probably extant parts of the substructures of demolished stone bases.

Apparently, this blg was subject to a destruction, for a gap separates it from the succeeding blg VII.

Objects: it is not possible to be precise about the attribution of the following objects; i.e. whether they belong to the preceding missing phase 3 or to this phase.

Sq. 14/19  
16357

a thick bronze ? rod with a triangular section, flattened on both ends. It was found in the eastern room of building VI.  
L.O.098.

15655: a bronze ? ring with a circular section; the ends overlap and are flattened.  
d.O.018.



15657: a small hand-made blackish amphora with a narrow flat base and two loop handles at mid-body; the neck is broken.  
 h.O.081;  
 d. of body without handles, 0.041.  
 Level: 24:40-24:20m.

Phase 5: will be assigned to the gap which appears in sections AA and BB between phases 4 and 6. It is possible that the broken wall a2 is an extant element of a demolished blg. which could have been contemporary with this phase. But it is unlikely that it could be contemporary with walls f1, f2, n1 and o3, the bases of which descend to the same level as wall a2. The former walls seem to be more in alignment with walls e, g, c2 and h of the succeeding phase (2nd. plan from top). However, evidence of occupation during this phase is supported by the following objects which are recorded from post-destruction levels. These objects form more or less a homogeneous group and are of great interest for comparative purposes and for dating this phase (see infra, chap. IV).

#### Objects:

Sq. 13/18: a globular pot with a flat base, large mouth and beaded rim. It is decorated with five red horizontal bands.  
 14196: h.O.132.

14195: a miniature clay obelisk, the base of which is broken; greyish.  
 h.O.057.  
 Level: 25:00-24:80m.

- 13456: a globular pot slightly elongated. It has a rounded base and rolled rim.  
h.O.136.
- 13455: a red slipped Syrian bottle with a ring base; the upper part of the neck is broken.  
h.O.25.
- 13457: a coarse bowl with irregular walls, flat base and a slightly inverted rim.  
h.O.076.
- 13454: an elegant pot with thin straight sides and a tapering slightly everted rim; it has a very short pedestal base.  
h.O.10.  
Level: 25:20-25:00m.

Sq. 14/19:

- 13469: a big bronze pin with a spherical head and a rounded perforation in the shank. It is grooved in three zones between head and perforation.  
l.O.245.  
d. of head 0.025.  
Level: 25:20-25:00m.

Phase 6: is represented by blg. VII, the walls of which are all broken, evidence of great disturbance (2nd. plan from top). However, walls f3 and m seem to belong to the succeeding blg. VIII. The character of the finds which could be associated with this blg, seem to post date the third mill. (see platter 12796, bowls 12063/64 and askos 12061). This Unit therefore will not be discussed any further. Sufficient to mention that the substructure of the Roman altar (it does not appear in the sections but see top plan) descends to a level between 27:00-26:80m.

Unit D (sqs. 15-16/17-18, fig. 4): overlies the north-west edge of the rocky ridge which occupies the south-eastern part of the site. This Unit reveals great disturbances all through, and especially in the earlier phases which makes it difficult to reproduce convincing plans of the different structural periods of this Unit.

Phase 1: is represented by jar burials 239-248 laid on bedrock.

These tombs underlie all walls of this Unit. Only a flimsy wall Y could probably be contemporary with them. None of the contents of these tombs is illustrated.

Objects:

Sq. 15/17:

17908: a stamped sherd with stylized figures.  
Level: 23:80-23:60m.

Phases 2 & 3: overlying the jar burials appears an architectural complex comprising the disturbed elements of two differently orientated blgs. IX and IXa (bottom plan). These two blgs. cannot be contemporary because if the broken walls of one blg. were to be reconstructed, they certainly would impinge on the walls of the other blg. However it is very difficult to estimate the time span and relationship of these two blgs. One thing is evident and that is, two structural phases are represented by walls a2-a3, h2-h3, e2-e3. Walls a2, e2 (sec. AA) and h2 (sec. BB) could represent phase 2 while walls a3, h3 and e3 represent phase 3. Nothing more



specific could be discussed from this Unit at this stage.

Objects:

Sq. 16/17:

15690: a ? bronze rod flattened at one end. It was found near wall x.  
1.O.112  
Level: 24:60-24:40m.

Phase 4: evidence for this phase comes from walls z, zy, which must have formed the corner of a substantial blg. IXb, judging by the thickness and good masonry of these extant walls (sec. CC and bottom plan). That no other contemporary walls seem to have survived indicates that this blg. might have been completely demolished and the stones of its foundations have been robbed. Erosion might have played a role as well. Walls z, zy, are overlaid by walls al, L2 of phase 5 (3rd. plan from top), while their corner is partly overlaid by wall p2 of Unit F which is contemporary with phase 5 of this Unit (fig. 6 and Summary of Area 1). It is unfortunate that no objects could be related to this phase as the extent and dimension of blg. IXb is unknown. Besides, most objects recorded from grid sqs. occupied by this Unit, seem to belong to the succeeding phase as the location of these objects indicate (blg. X).

Phase 5: walls of the preceding phase have been either destroyed or robbed and on their ruins, a new blg. showing a new type of architecture and layout was constructed. The shallow foundation of



wall a1 contrasts with the deep foundations of walls c2, g2 and L2 of the same blg. This phenomenon cannot be the result of the configuration of the mound since wall a1 was not laid on virgin rock. It is more probable that the gap which separates wall a1 from the earlier structures consists of an accumulation of debris from the destroyed earlier walls which must have formed a thick solid layer in this particular plot where wall a1 was laid. The other alternative could be a filled-in pit inherited from phase 4.

Objects: because this Unit occupies a small part of grid sq. 15/18, and because jug 14250 (described above in Unit B, fig. 2) was found in that grid, this jug was illustrated on fig. 4 as well.

Sq. 15/18:

14249: a long chisel perforated at one third its length below the butt which is rounded. The sides are irregular, the cutting edge is broken and above it are incised the antlers of a stag.  
L.O.099.  
th.O.07.  
Level: 25:00-24:80m.

Sq. 16/18:

13499: a bronze spatula; it has a tang with a square section. Not illustrated.

13500: a big sword pommel made of alabaster; a rectangular notch with two rivet-holes appears on each side. The ends of the pommel are broken. Not illustrated here.  
L.O.101.  
w.O.046.  
th.O.017.  
Level: 25:20-25:00m.

13205: a flat bronze dagger blade; it has three rivet-holes on the tang; two effaced signs are incised on the blade.  
L.O.205.  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

Sq. 17/17:

13029: <sup>5</sup> a ? bronze spatula with a socketed handle,  
L.O.096.

13229: a very small jar with a large flat base, sloping shoulders,  
short neck with everted rim and two prominent handles on  
mid-body.  
h. 0.22.  
m.d. 0.11  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

Sq. 16/17:

12552: a flat elongated ? bronze axe with a large perforation  
below the butt. Remains of black ash has formed a crust  
covering the whole surface of this axe.  
L.O.147.  
w. of cutting edge, 0.054.  
Level: 25:80-25:60m.

Phase 6: is characterized by great disturbances. Blg. X is now  
replaced by a heterogeneous collection of walls which do not seem to be  
related. Wall al of blg. X is re-used in this phase, and the  
foundation of a fragment of a wall ab overlaps with the tops of the  
walls of blg. X. (sec. AA). These are the only indications that blg. X  
might have been rebuilt in a second phase. However, a gap of 0.20-0.40m  
exists between the walls of blg. X and the above structures (sec. BB-CC).  
Pottery related to these walls is definitely post-third mill. (juglet  
10882, sec. BB). This Unit therefore will not be subject to any  
further discussion.

Unit E (sq. 14-15/15-16; fig. 5): is constructed along the eastern side of road D parallel to blg XIX which precedes the Champ des Offrandes temple (fig. 9). Though this Unit displays a remarkable continuity, it is not easy to isolate the earliest phases.

Phase 1: is represented by tombs 264, 265. It is difficult to associate these tombs with any of the extant architectural elements save perhaps wall xy (sec. CC). None of the contents of these tombs is illustrated.

Objects:

Sq. 15/16:

18801: fragment of a coarse pottery handle with roughly incised chevrons.  
Level: 23:40-23:20m.

Phase 2: the elements of a house similar to house I of Unit A (fig. 1), appears in this phase represented by walls p2, t3, L2. An adjacent room z1-v2 is appended to the eastern side of house XIc. The stone bases in this room give an approximate level of  $\pm$  23:70m to the floors of this phase. The walls of room z1-v2 are reproduced in the subsequent phase whereas walls L2-t3 must have been demolished and their stones re-used in the succeeding phase. This explains the break between these walls and those of phase 3.

Sq. 15/15:

18528 a small reddish jar with an elongated body, sloping shoulders and a high narrow neck with out-rolled rim; it has a large flat base with two handles on mid-body. The surface is pattern-combed and has no slip. Not illustrated.  
h. 0.50  
Level: 23:60-23:40m.



Phase 3: overlying the walls of phase 1, two new houses, XIa, XIb, appear (2nd plan from bottom). Several occupational features are marked in these two houses giving an approximate level of  $\pm$  24:10m to the floors of this phase. These features consist of: two stone bases and a bench (24:20-24:00m) set against the northern walls of house XIa; an extant pavement with a low partition wall v3 (24:20-24:00m) appear in the southern part of house XIb, as well as a low bench (24:40-24:20m) built against wall L of the latter house. Wall p2 which is preserved to a 3:00m elevation (sec. BB) is in fact a rare phenomenon at Byblos. This wall must have been rebuilt and reproduced on exactly the same lines from the beginning of phase 2 till the end of phase 5 after which blg XI was destroyed. The shallowness of the foundations is due to the fact that this blg was constructed on the edge of the south-east rocky ridge,<sup>6</sup> where a natural substructure was provided and therefore there was no need to go deeper. An interesting parallel is seen in room B, bâtiment XL of the Baalat Gebal complex (fig. 13), where the western wall of this room was built on a rocky surface which in its turn formed the floor of the room; thus floor and foundation are on the same level.

It is unfortunate that no objects could be related to the architecture of this phase.

Phase 4: the most important evidence for the existence of this phase is the construction of wall r2. This wall joins houses XIa, XIb of phase 3 giving a definitive form to blg XI of this phase (3rd



plan from bottom and sec. BB). Blg XI now consists of a central hall with each of the side halls divided into two oblong rooms by partition walls v and v1. The floors of this blg are plotted at  $\pm$  24:60m according to the levels of the following occupational features which are marked in this blg. A bench (24:60-24:40m) is built against wall v (sec. AA). The top of the foundation of wall r2 is coloured as to be between 24:60-24:40m, whereas the top of the foundation of wall n is given between 24:80-24:60m. It is unfortunate that no doorways are marked on the plans and we are ignorant as to the manner of communication between these rooms.

Sq. 14/15:

- 15652 a small shallow bowl with an upright rim and burnished decoration inside.  
d. 0.08.
- 15651 a red-burnished sherd with black cross-hatched decoration and a bucranium in relief.  
Level: 24:60-24:40m.
- 15664 a flat ?bronze chisel with a sharpened edge and rounded butt.  
L. 0.123: th. 0.005: w. at heel 0.07.  
Level: 24:60-24:40m.

Phase 5: blg XI has been rebuilt on the same lines with the addition of a new hall m-m1-m2, and wall k (2nd plan from top, sec. AA). New structural features are introduced as well. A basin with a paved area surrounded by walls t-t1 appear in the central hall (sec. BB). This blg was destroyed at the end of this phase as is clearly demonstrated in secs. AA-CC. The floors of this blg are plotted at  $\pm$  25:35m according to the paved floor of room m1-m2 (sec. AA). The paved area surrounding the basin is coloured as to be between 25:60-25:40m (sec. BB) corroborating the level suggested by room m1-m2.

Area rl most probably belongs to the succeeding phase. It is discussed in fig. 6, phase 4.

Sq. 14/15

- 13456: a terra-cotta figurine of probably a dog in reddish clay.  
h. 0.04; L.O.061.  
Level: 25:20-25:00m.
- 13127: A long bone awl which tapers gradually to a blunt edge.  
L.O.143.  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.
- 12815: a small hemispherical bowl with burnished decoration inside.  
d. 0.09.  
Level: 25:60-25:40m.

Sq. 14/16

- 13128: a juglet with an elongated curved body; short narrow stump base; handle from rim to shoulder; it is decorated with irregular cross hatching.  
L.O.125; m.d.O.053.  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

Sq. 15/15

- 13474: a four-spouted lamp with a flat base; traces of fire.  
h.O.022.  
Level: 25:20-25:00m.
- 13156: a pink sherd decorated with dark cross hatching and a rolled lattice pattern of a cylinder seal; a small horizontally perforated lug handle is placed on the surface.  
m.l.O.235.  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

Phase 6: will be assigned to the architectural gap which exists between the last phase of building XI and the structures above. It is interesting to note that this gap applies only to architecture as evidence of occupation is shown from the numerous objects found within this gap and listed below.

Objects:

Sq. 14/15

- 12506: a small flat ? bronze chisel, with a splaying cutting edge.  
L.O.085.  
Level: 25:80-25:60m.

Sq. 14/16

- 12114: a miniature votive beaker.  
h.O.028.

12112: a long bone needle.  
L.O.15.

12110: an elliptical shaped stone with a deep groove along its narrow diameter.  
L.O.033.  
Level: 26:00-25:80m.

Sq. 15/15

12142: neck of a strainer vase with an overhanging rim; red burnish.  
d.O.122.  
Level: 26:00-25:80m.

Sq. 15/16

12146: a ? bronze dagger with a middle rib; it has a triangular butt with three rivet-holes.  
L.O.22.

12147: a juglet with broad body and rounded sides; it has a narrow neck with trefoil mouth, and a small circular handle from rim to shoulder. The base is narrow and flat; vertically burnished.  
h.O.185.  
Level: 26:00-25:80m.

Phase 7: The architectural remains which appear subsequent to the destruction and gap, are also greatly disturbed and the walls have a completely different orientation from those of phase 5. The character of the finds which could be related to this phase are obviously later than the third millennium types (ex. jug 11150 and jar 11417). The jar is described as being identical to the Middle Bronze Age jar no. 11485 (cf. fig. 9, phase 7).

Unit F (sq. 15-16/14-16: fig. 6): lies immediately south of Unit E, and is separated from blg XIX of Area III by road D (bottom plan and Plan I).

Phase 1: is represented by a fragment of wall zonly (sec. CC).



Objects:Sq. 15/15

17905,<sup>7</sup> two coarse sherds stamped with geometric patterns.  
 17906: L. of stamp: 0.025, 0.037 respectively.  
 Level: 23:80-23:60m.

Phase 2: at this stage, blg XII consists of two separate parallel halls d2-g2 and b1-e2. The central area was probably left open as is indicated from its unbonded walls t1, u2 and v2 which must have been added later (bottom plan). These two halls are built against the southern walls of blg XI, phase 3 (cf. fig. 5, analysis of phase 3). This phase therefore must be partly contemporary with the latter. The floor level of this phase which is plotted at  $\pm$  24:30m is based on the surface level of the foundation of wall d2 which projects inwards forming a ledge which levels with the floor (bottom plan and sec. AA). The circular area w is most probably a modern well the surface of which appears between 27:80-27:60m (sec. BB).

Phase 2a: soon after the construction of halls d2-g2, b1-e2, room u2-i, as well as wall v2 were probably added as is implied by their levels (secs. AA, CC).

It is unfortunate that no objects could be related to phases 2 and 2a.

Phase 3: a total separation between blgs XII and XI takes place as a result of the construction of wall r2 of blg XI, phase 4, which is contemporary with this phase (bottom plan and sec. CC). A partition wall t1 marks off a small room in hall g2-b1 along a similar line to room s2-r3. Most probably, the floor of this phase corresponds to



that of blg XI, phase 4, which is  $\pm$  24:60m, since it was shown above (fig. 5, analysis of phase 4) that the base of wall r2 is at an approximate level to the floor of that blg.

Phase 4: the few extant walls indicate that blg XII had been rebuilt in this phase on more or less similar lines to phase 3 (walls d1, b1, sec. AA). New walls are also built, g1, s1, (secs. AA-CC). Though these walls do not fit exactly the underlying walls of phase 3, they do follow the general layout of the preceding phase despite the fact that a stratigraphical break separates them from the preceding walls. The paved areas r1, e1, offer a problem; their foundations descend to a deep level, but their layout is out of line with the walls of phase 3, (sec. AA, BB). Moreover, if these pavements were to be restored to their original size, they would cover a substantial part of hall b1-e2 (middle plan). It is possible that during this phase, hall b1-e2 underwent a change in its arrangement, but it is more probable that these areas formed a substructure to the floor of the succeeding phase 5 as is suggested by walls e and r (secs. AA, BB, cf. a similar situation in fig. 9, where platform k cuts into earlier levels).

Sq. 17/16:

13224 a long ? bronze pin with a flattened head.  
L. 0.154.  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

Phase 5: wall e with pavement e1 (sec. AA), wall r with pavement r1 (sec. BB) as well as walls p1-p2 (middle plan) suggest that blg activity was quickly resumed subsequent to the destruction of blg XII. Wall a1 which appears in sec. AA, belongs

to blg X of fig. 4. Several objects which are plotted on the coloured plans and illustrated on fig. 6, are related to this phase since they are found above the level of the tops of the walls of the preceding phase. These objects show innovations in the style of pottery (see chap. II, periods JI/JII). The fragmentary state of the extant walls suggests that probably great disturbances or a destruction took place at the end of this phase.

Sq. 15/16

12147: described above (see Unit E, phase 6).

Sq. 16/16

12171: a stone weight with six crossed incisions on the long side.  
L.O.123; m.d. 0.083.

12172: a flat dagger blade with a pronounced middle rib; the butt is broken and only two rivet-holes are preserved.  
L.O.12.  
Level: 26:00-25:80m.

Sq. 16/15

11255: a fragment of a steatite mould for biconical beads.  
Not illustrated.  
L.O.065; w.O.033; th.O.028.

11206: a big red jug with a broad almost cylindrical body and a large flat base; it has a narrow short neck with splaying sides and a small circular handle. The rim is broken, but several similar jugs were found having either pinched or trefoil lips. It is decorated with white bands.  
h.O.23.  
Level: 26:40-26:20m.

Phase 6: judging by the character of the finds, the levels subsequent to phase 5 are post third mill. (see below). This Unit therefore will not be discussed any further.

Sq. 17/16

10917: a fragment of a brick clay with a shiny red slip in the shape of a fish. The fins are represented by simple knobs in relief.  
L.O.08.  
Level: 26:60-26:40m.

The above object is almost identical to the clay fish that was found by Montet in one of the Middle Bronze Age tombs.<sup>8</sup> Also nos. 10793 and 10794 appear in Unit E, fig. 5, with several objects which can be dated to a much later period than this study is concerned with.

Unit G (sqgs. 10-13/18-23) figs. 7-7b.

The Obelisk Complex.<sup>9</sup>

The architectural remains of this complex are recorded on three plans cotes 26:00-25:00m, 25:00-24:00m and 24:00-23:00m.<sup>10</sup> Five sections were taken through the temple complex (figs. 7-7a) and a chart (7b) was drawn illustrating the material this temple has yielded.<sup>11</sup>

8 BE, pp. 244-246; pl. CXLV, no. 910.

9 The term Obelisk is applied here to this religious complex throughout all its stages so as not to encumber this already confused material with more names, despite the fact that such an appellation is not quite appropriate to the initial phases of this complex.

10 The architectural remains above cote 26:00m are very scrappy and most of the walls which appear on the sections are Roman foundations (see especially sec. CC, fig. 7).

11 Several of the objects illustrated on the chart constitute the loose finds from the early phases of this complex; of the jar deposits, only the jars and few specimens from each are drawn because a thorough study of all these objects constitutes a subject for a thesis in itself which is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Besides, the evidence from the sections proves that these jars belong to upper strata and were deposited at periods which post-date the periods studied in this work. See chap. II.



Dunand's analysis of the temple's complex:<sup>12</sup> (Pl.II).

The basic arrangement of the initial phase of this complex as described by Dunand is that of a blg composed of three cellae in antis, opened to the east and set within an irregular court which is surrounded by a peribolos wall. Later, three small rooms were built against the northern wall of the cellae, and a chapel in antis was set in the north-east corner of the court. Facing the central cella is a small room which opens to the west. Court and cellae are preceded by a forecourt and access to the latter is from the south by means of an imposing stairway. Joined to the north ends of the forecourt is a square blg partitioned into a long hall and two square rooms. Appended to the western end of the courtyard of the temple is an elaborate blg. It consists of a central hall with three large rooms set on either side of this hall. Each room has three rows of stone bases, two mural and one axial, presumably for supporting wooden posts. This blg as well as the temple complex, Dunand ascribes to his Installation VI.<sup>13</sup>

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12 FBII2, pp. 895-898.

13 This term needs to be qualified because ever since his first article in Congres Internationale (1948) pp. 72-75, Dunand has been revising his dates and terminology. In FB II2, atlas Pl. CCXII, the excavator dates this temple to Installation V, or Installation Urbaine Developpe 2850-2700 BC. Blg XVI is assigned on the same chart to Installation VI or Installation pre-Amorite, 2700-2150 BC. In an article in RB (1950) p.598, Dunand places both blgs within his Installation VI which begins c. 2700 BC. In 1965 he published a small tourist guide, Byblos and on pp. 21-22, he dates his Installation V to 2800-2500 BC, and his Installation VI which he calls Epoque pre-Amorite to 2500-2150 BC.



Analysis of present study: it is difficult to understand on what basis Dunand assigns such an early date to all this complex. Though the present analysis does not claim to be final or to have solved all problems, it nevertheless clarifies important issues and shows or questions the validity of Dunand's sequence dating which in the view of the <sup>present</sup> writer, needs to be altered to a large extent.

As a result of sections AA-EE (fig. 7-7a), it became apparent that this temple had grown to a complex by a process of accretion and is not therefore the result of unified architectural planning. This can be <sup>deduced</sup> probably / from the lack of bonding among the various walls, the great difference of ground levels outside and the floors inside the temple at the time when each Unit was built. Also, each Unit of this religious complex has distinctive elements whether in orientation or arrangement which make that Unit stand out. In fact this complex can be divided into four separate Units (Pl. II, III, IV).

1. the square blg or Unit XIII.
2. the three cellae built on the same axis and henceforth referred to as blg XIV.
3. the forecourt (avant-cour) or blg XV.
4. the complex appended to the west of the temple's courtyard will be labelled as blg XVI.

Phase I: the earliest walls that appear on plan cote 24:00-23:00m indicate an architectural activity which preceded the construction of the entire complex. But unfortunately the extant walls are too fragmentary to suggest a coherent architectural form (a few of these walls, nn, hn, appear in fig. 7a, sec. DD).

Phase 2: blg XIII appears to be the earliest Unit of this complex as evidence from secs. AA-EE (fig. 7-7a) show that this blg has spanned a long period of time and has gone through two architectural stages represented by phases 2 and 3, prior to the general destruction which befell this complex at the end of phase 3. On the other hand, blgs XIV and XV do not show similar rebuildings or re-arrangements in their layouts; their life-span in the pre-destruction era is limited to phase 3 only (see fig. 7, secs. AA, CC). Phase 2 which represents the first stage of blg XIII, has several exclusive features which disappear in the subsequent phase 3, corroborating the above statement. First, according to plan cote 24:00-23:00m the floor level of this phase is  $\pm 23:10m$ ; <sup>14</sup> this is deduced from the flagstones which cover a great part of hall A, the level of the first step which leads up to passage vx, and from the level of passages which connect hall A with rooms B and C. Second, the base of wall m which joins both blgs XIII and XV is given as to be between 23:40-23:20m; i.e. there is a minimum difference of 0:10m between the floor of this blg and the base of wall m. This feature indicates that wall m should belong to a later phase and could not be contemporary with the initial construction of this blg as Dunand implies in his description of the temple (FB II2, pp. 895-898). Third, four ritual basins set in a ledge built against wall oo, as well as three small steps which lead from hall A to passage vx giving access to three steps built outside the hall, go out of use in phase 3 (see under phase 3). Finally, a circular structure LL which probably had a ritual significance in

relation to phase 2, is cut into by wall m of phase 3 (fig. 7a, sec. DD and bottom plan). Subsequently, a similar structure was rebuilt serving perhaps as a large plinth for a votive obelisk (see below).

It is unfortunate that no pottery is recorded from levels which could be related to this phase, but in view of the low floor level of this blg, it is likely that related pottery would be found in lower levels.

Phase 3: the salient architectural features of phase 2, the ritual basins and steps vy, xy, are now buried beneath the floor of this phase, the level of which is  $\pm 23:60\text{m}$  (this level is inferred from the surface levels of the stone bases which are set axially and murally in the hall and rooms of this blg). Passage vx gets blocked by wall pq (fig. 7a, secs. DD, EE). Also wall m which joins blgs XV and XIII should belong to this phase since, as was discussed above, the base of that wall is higher than the floor of phase 2. Contemporary with the construction of that wall is a small room built in the north-east corner of hall A; the bases of its walls yy, uu are also higher than the floor of phase 2 (fig. 7a, secs. EE, DD).

Blg XV: wall m which was discussed above confirms the contemporaneity of blgs XIII and XV, phase 3. The floor level of the latter is plotted at  $\pm 23:60\text{m}$  according to the given levels of the stone bases and the lowest step of a staircase which leads down to it. The floor of this blg is about 1:00m lower than the ground level outside (fig. 7a, sec. DD). No stone bases were found in the northern part, an indication that this area of blg XV was left open to the sky as its width is too great to be



spanned by wooden beams without the help of vertical posts to support the weight of the roof. Such an arrangement is very plausible because the circular structure with its votive obelisk were built in this part; and in view of the probability that the obelisk served as a place for burning sacrifices, it was important that they should have an open area so that smoke could escape freely (Pl. IV).

Blg XIV: which consists of three cellae in antis (Pl. III 2, V) is most probably contemporary with the other two blgs discussed above. This is seen from the corresponding floor levels in the three blgs which are all between 23:60-23:40m (the floors of the flanking cellae are at slightly lower levels than the central one, fig. 7, sec. AA). The construction of a small room against the eastern side of wall L facing the three cellae (floor  $\pm$  24:20m) and perhaps serving some ritual function, and the opening of a passage across wall L ( $\pm$  23:30m) giving access to the courtyard of blg XIV, constitute valid evidence for the contemporaneity of blgs XIV and XV.

Against the northern cella, a thick and deep revetment wall was built. It must have formed a formidable substructure to the new temple, the base of which reaches a level below 21:17m.<sup>15</sup> This revetment wall is apparently later than the sacred pool (see supra, section IA) because it appears to have cut across the battered wall which encloses the latter.

The peribolos wall which appears on the plans as surrounding the courtyard of this temple should be later than this phase, or at least the northern part of it is later. On plan cote 25:00-24:00m, three

adjacent walls e, e1, e2, are built on the northern front of the complex (fig. 7a, top plan)'. Wall e is recorded as a fragment, the length of which parallels the length of the adjacent cella. This wall appears in sec. AA as cutting across the floor of that cella. But if the given level, 23:20-23:00m, to the pavement of that cella represents a mere substructure, the actual floor would probably then be as high as that of the southern cella. In this case wall e would be the actual wall of the adjacent cella and not part of the peribolos. Wall e2 is merely a strengthening or a retaining wall which is obviously later than this phase (sec. AA). On plan cote 24:00-23:00m, wall e1 is recorded as a fragment (the part which is hatched by green lines) built against wall e. It is neither bonded to the western extension of the supposedly same peribolos (wall e3 in this study) nor is it on the same line with it. In fact wall e3 (the part of the wall which is left blank) appears to be built against the northern corner of the northern cella blocking any passage in this part (see Pl. II). Moreover, wall z which is contemporary with blg XIV is cut into by the peribolos wall e3 demonstrating that the former is earlier. Finally, the irregularity of the peribolos which has a different alignment from blg XIV contrasts with the symmetry displayed by the latter. The reconstructed plan of the excavator (Pl. II) is an exact copy of this unhappy situation revealing an ill-planned layout which is quite implausible. The better explanation is that wall e1 may have been originally a retaining wall to the adjacent cella whose actual wall, as we have seen above, is probably wall e. Subsequent to the destruction of the three cellae (blg XIV), the builders of

phase 4 constructed their peribolos, wall e3, using the northern revetment and wall e1 as foundations to their new wall. This is why on plan cote 25:00-24:00m, wall e3 appears as a continuous wall without any breaks, whereas on plan 24:00-23:00m, the picture is altered, since what is recorded on that plan includes part of the foundation of wall e3 of phase 4, as well as the top of wall e1 of phase 3.

Some of the loose finds illustrated on fig. 7b can be ascribed to this phase since some of them (esp. the votive cups) were charred by the fire which ravaged the temple at the end of this phase.

However, because of the several pits which were dug in the temple of the succeeding phase for the purpose of laying the jar deposits and the various offerings which were brought to the temple, objects from later periods slipped down to much earlier levels (ex. jug 18350, see discussion of phase 4).

Objects: the following objects were all found at levels which correspond with the floors of this phase. Jug 18350 which contains several metal objects is not listed below though it was found in the same level as the rest of the objects. Its striking similarity to juglets from Royal Tombs I and II indicates that it is intrusive here.

Sq. 11/22

18739: a juglet with a narrow flat base, ovoid body and short neck with a pinched mouth; handle from rim to shoulder. It is similar to juglet 13471 from the Chapelle Orientale, phase 4.  
h.O.118.  
Level: 23:40-23:20m.

18355: a small jar with a broad body, large flattened base, short neck with outrolled rim; two circular handles on mid-body and a pot mark on the shoulder.  
h.O.325.



- 18373- three miniature cups with flat bases and slightly convex  
 18375: sides. The surface is well burnished, buff colour.  
 h.O.051; 0.047; 0.04.
- 18376- three miniature cups with flat bases and largely splaying  
 18378: sides.  
 h.O.05; 0.046; 0.04.

All the objects enumerated above belong to blg XIII, because they were found in a grid sq. which is almost wholly covered by the latter.

Sq. 11/20

- 18298- two chalices with high narrow button bases.  
 18299: h.O.054; 0.057.
- 18300: a reddish shallow bowl with a narrow flat base; two large circular handles from rim to mid-body.  
 h.O.039; d.O.09.
- 18301: a bowl similar to the above but much deeper; the handles are set slightly below the rim.  
 h.O.047; d.O.093.

Nos. 18298-18301 were found in a canal which passes in front of the central cella.

- 18303: two truncated conical cups with slight concavity at lower part of the body.  
 h.O.043; 0.038.
- 18303 bis: two miniature cups similar to the above.  
 h.O.037; 0.038.

The above two cups were found in the earth that fills the central cella.

- 18305: sixteen miniature cups most of which have a conical truncated form with slight concavity above the base. One example has a narrow mouth with a base wider than the top. Two examples have a slight constriction above the base.  
 h. from 0.032-0.05.

The above cups were found between the northern wall of cella 2 and the foundations of the peribolos wall beneath the layer of ashes which covered the remains of this period.

Sq. 311/19

18279- twelve miniature cups, some in red clay, the rest are  
 18290: greyish; their forms are either cylindrical or truncated  
 conical. Most of these are charred by fire.  
 h. from 0.055-0.031.

18291: seven miniature cups in a truncated conical form. They  
 were found beneath the pavement of the central cella.  
 h. 0.05-0.038.

18292: a cylindrical miniature cup. It was found under the  
 bench of the central cella.  
 Level: 23:60-23:40m.

Blg XVI: Rooms A, B and C of blg XVI (Pl. VI) are most probably  
 contemporary with phase 3 (see Pl. III and IV), and could have been  
 built slightly before the latter (see Summary Sequence to this Area,  
 Periods JI-JII). In fig. 7c, the walls of rooms A and B overlie  
 walls of periods KIII to KIV. A KIII/KIV juglet (17853) was found  
 in a level lower than the base of the southern wall of room A. On  
 the other hand, objects reported from the same level as the floor  
 of room A are of later types than juglet 17853 (see fig. 7d). It is  
 interesting to note the gradual depth of the foundation of walls as  
 they near the sacred pool area (see fig. 7c). That area is marked  
 by a depression (cf. chap. IA, supra) as a result of the configuration  
 of the mound. The walls surrounding this area have their bases at  
 lower levels than walls which are further away. This fact explains  
 why the builders of the Obelisk Complex (phase 3) had to construct a  
 thick and deep retaining wall along the northern side of the complex  
 (see above under blg XIV).

The following analysis constitutes a tentative and very general recon-  
 struction of the sequence of the Obelisk temple during the Middle  
 Bronze Age. Though this temple falls outside the period this study

is concerned with, a general presentation of its sequence is necessary here in view of the importance it holds for the chronology of the whole site as well as other sites in the Levant.

Phase 4: the blgs of phase 3 have been destroyed by fire and a layer of ashes covered the ruins of the former complex.<sup>16</sup> In fig. 7, secs AA and CC, a gap exists between phases 4 and 3 followed by a drastic change in the layout of the sanctuary. The three cellae of former times are now replaced by an elevated podium on which an open-air sanctuary partitioned into cella and pro-cella is built. The flagstones of the pro-cella are coloured as to be between 25:00-24:80m, suggesting an approximate level to the floor of the sanctuary at  $\pm$  24:90m. From this sanctuary, one descends to a surrounding court by means of three stairways set against the north-western corner, the middle of the northern side and the middle of the eastern facade of the podium. The lowest step in all these staircases is coloured as to be between 24:40-24:20m, thus the floor level of the courtyard could be  $\pm$  24:30m. The layout of the peribolos (fig. 7a, top plan) is in harmony with the enclosed sanctuary and as it was discussed above, this peribolos must have been built during this phase. Hall A of blg XIII has now lost its character as a result of the construction of a rectangular antechamber leading to the sanctuary (fig. 7a, top plan). The northern wall of this antechamber cuts across wall hh of hall A reducing it to a mere court or entrée which skirts the facade of rooms B and C. The floor of the antechamber could be  $\pm$  24:50m according to



the level of the flagstones which pave the floor of that room, and the lowest step built against wall Q leading to the sanctuary (fig. 7, sec. CC, fig. 7a, top plan).

It is obvious from secs. AA - CC that none of the famous jar deposits could be ascribed to the temple of phase 3. One or two of these deposits could be contemporary to this phase while the others belong to subsequent phases as their levels imply. It is very important to note that all these deposits accompany a sanctuary which is hypaethral. In this case it is inconceivable that the treasures of these deposits, whether loose or enclosed in jars, would be left on the floors of an open sanctuary available to everyone and subject to the ravages of nature where rain and wind in that part of the world can be, sometimes, extremely violent. In fact it can be shown that all these deposits were either buried in pits beneath the floor of the courtyard of the temple, or hidden beneath huge stone slabs which cover the north-east and south-east corners of the sanctuary, while one deposit was walled in under masonry.

Deposit 17691-17762 was buried at least 0:45m below the floor of the courtyard of phase 4 (fig. 7, sec. AA). This is perhaps the only deposit which can be safely attributed to this phase.

Deposit 16694-16748 was found  $\pm$  0.40m beneath the floor of the antechamber of phase 4 (fig. 7, sec. CC). This deposit may belong to this phase as well.

Deposits 15121-15566 and 14560-14607 probably belong to the succeeding phase, because they contain objects which are identical to those of the Royal Tombs I-III which are later than this phase (see discussion).

of phases 5 and 6). It will be shown below that phase 5 is contemporary with Royal Tombs I-III whereas this phase is earlier. In fact both the stratigraphical and typological evidence seems to corroborate this sequence. The pottery of this phase still retains certain characteristics of the earlier periods, but one can discern a gradual change especially in the jar (cf. chap. II, periods JI/JII and H). Also the goblet with a circular handle inserted at the base which is characteristic of the Royal Tombs appears in later levels only. Furthermore, an interesting find deserves to be mentioned here for it corroborates the early date suggested for phase 4. This is a lapis lazuli cylinder seal (no. 4183) which was found near the base of the sanctuary. It is carved with a presentation scene where a man is being led by an intermediary to a seated goddess wearing the flounced dress. Albright, who was visiting the site when this cylinder was discovered, suggested a date between the middle of Ur III to the middle of the first Babylonian dynasty.<sup>17</sup> G. Dossin made a recent study of this cylinder and concluded that a date around 2000 BC<sup>18</sup> is quite plausible. On the other hand Moortgat dates this type of cylinder seal from the time of Ur-Baba to Sumuabum.<sup>19</sup> All three authorities agree on a date which is obviously earlier than the reign of Ammenemes III of the Egyptian XIIth dynasty (1842-1797 BC

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17 FBI, p. 313.

18 G. Dossin, MUSJ, 1970, p. 248-250. Apparently Dossin is using the high chronology because he attributes this date (2000 BC) to the first Babylonian Dynasty.

19 A. Moortgat, AAM pp. 68-69, Pl.G1.



CAH date) to whose reign the succeeding phase 5 of this temple can be dated as well as most of the jar deposits (see *infra* discussion of phase 5).

Phases 5 & 6: the temple of phase 4 is reused without much change in its arrangement. The most sensational find of this phase is a limestone obelisk which is placed against the northern wall of the sanctuary. It bears a dedication in hieroglyphic characters,<sup>20</sup> by a Lycian Kukun<sup>21</sup> to the prince of Byblos, Abishemu, a contemporary of Ammenemes III.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that the socle which carries the Abishemu Obelisk is at the same level as the top step of the staircase of phase 4, the level of which is between 25:00-24:80m. Apparently the ground level of this open courtyard has risen about 0:40-0:50m, covering the steps of phase 4 except the top one which levels with the floor of the new phase. It is at this new floor that the obelisk stands. Pl XXVII 2 in FB II shows an interesting photograph which combines elements of both phases 4 and 5. Obviously, the excavation had proceeded beyond the floor level of phase 5 uncovering the steps and floor of phase 4, leaving isolated elements of phase 5 elevated above the floor of phase 4. It need not be assumed that this Obelisk could be an heirloom inherited from phase 4 because the change in pottery suggests otherwise (see supra under phase 4).

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20 FB II 2, no. 16980, p. 878; ibid., Pl. XXXII 2.

21 W.F. Albright, in BASOR, no. 55 (1959) pp. 31-34. See the revision of his previous dating in BASOR no. 176, (1964), pp. 42-43 where he confirms that Abishemu was a contemporary to Ammenemes III.

22 Posener, in CAH 2, (1965), fasc. 29, p. 16, Montet, BE, pp. 155-57.



A new chapel was built in the courtyard enclosing most of the area which used to be occupied by hall A of phase 3. Three steps lead down to this chapel. The level of the lowest step gives an approximate level to the floor of phase 6 at  $\pm$  25:10m. (fig. 7a, top plan and sec. EE).

The following deposits belong to these two phases:

Deposit 15121-15566 was hidden beneath huge stone slabs which cover a pit dug in the north-eastern corner of the pro-cella (fig. 7, sec. CC, and Pl. XXV, 2, in FB II).

Deposit 14560-14607 was also hidden in a pit carved in the south-eastern corner of the pro-cella and covered by stone slabs which formed the floor of the sanctuary (fig. 7, sec. AA).

Deposits 15889-15978 and 15979-16185 were sunk into the floor of phase 4; only their necks could have appeared above floor level. These jars were covered up by heaps of small stones, (fig. 7, sec. BB, and FB II, Pl. XC 3).

Deposit 14433-14501 was placed in the corner of walls k-e3 below the floor of phase 5. This jar was propped up by big slabs of stones to hold it upright (FB II, Pl. CXIV, 2-3).

Deposit 14840-15120 was placed on the threshold of a door through wall e3, walled in under masonry. The blocking of this door took place in phase 6. This deposit therefore should be contemporary with that phase, and was laid there to commemorate the event of blocking the door of the northern peribolos, (fig. 7, sec. AA).

Deposit 18350 was sunk into the floor of phase 3 (fig. 7a, sec. EE).

This jug has very close parallels in R.T. I-III which are later than phase 4 (Pl. LXII).

SUMMARY SEQUENCE TO AREA I

To summarize the stratigraphical data obtained from the study of the reconstructed architectural sections, a separate chart was devised for each Area (tables 1 - 7). On each chart, a relative chronological scheme has been set out based on the successive strata that were identified from the sections. This does not mean that each Unit corresponds exactly to that chronological scheme. In fact, almost none of the Units discussed revealed a complete succession of all the earlier strata of the site. Therefore, to formulate a coherent sequence, evidence had to be supplemented from the various Units in all the Areas. The Units that gave the major clues for the stratigraphy of the site were the temples because these blgs were used and rebuilt over and over again for very long periods of time, unlike private houses where people for some reason or another could easily shift their dwellings to other parts of the city, leaving their earlier habitations derelict.

Since this study is dealing with a complex city that has been completely cleared by means of arbitrary horizontal levels, and not a trench or an Area which is well defined and homogeneous, isolated features that appear on the plans present an acute problem for chronology. In such cases, comparative archaeology is the only resort; but even then, the range of the probability in their attribution to specific periods is very great.

Moreover, not all the phases fit harmoniously into the proposed chronological scheme. Some of these probably require further sub-

divisions, but because not all of the stratigraphical evidence is available on the plans, any attempt at a more precise or refined phasing of the site will be merely conjectural and also quite hazardous, as it might lead to many erroneous conclusions.

The sequence that Area I has revealed is as follows (see table 1).

Period L: represents the earliest occupational remains that appear above bedrock. These are jar burials 239-248, 264-265 which underlie Units D and E (figs. 4 and 5) respectively. No architectural remains can be associated with them.

Period KI: the first appearance of a planned blg in the lowest levels of this area are houses I of Unit A (fig. 1) and XIc of Unit E (fig. 5). These are small rectangular blgs with partitions set at one third the length of the blgs. A pottery deposit (no. 18786 - 18791) was found in the south-east corner of house I, and most probably below the floor level (see discussion of phase 1, fig. 1). Contemporary with these houses is probably phase 1 of fig. 3. It is not possible to tell whether any of the walls of Unit D are contemporary with this period, since that Unit is greatly disturbed; fragments of walls overlap and are scattered all over. A gap exists between the architectural remains of this period (fig. 1, house 1), and the structures above. This gap is most likely the result of a disturbance from above which may have been caused by the builders of period KIII. This is seen in secs. AA, BB, and the bottom plan of Unit A, fig. 1, where the thick foundations (dotted in the bottom plan) of blg II (period KIII) cut into the walls of both periods KI and KII.



Period KII: is best illustrated by blg V, of Unit C, (phase 2, fig. 3) where one of its walls x2 cuts across wall u of blg I (fig. 1, bottom plan). It has an east-west orientation in contrast to the north-south orientation of house I. It consists of two, possibly three rooms (if part of it is not destroyed), built on the same axis. Blgs XIa, XIb of Unit E (phase 3, fig. 5) are contemporary with this period, because they appear above walls of period KI except wall p2, the sequence of which is not very clear (see fig. 7f). It seems that that wall had survived for a long time and was built over and over again on the same line throughout all the periods, until the final destruction of blg XI at the end of period KIV. Phase 2 of fig. 6 must be contemporary to the above houses, because its walls are built against houses XIa, XIb of fig. 5.

Extant fragmentary remains which underlie blg IV indicate that that blg may have had an early history which would associate it with this period.

Period KIII: the best example of this period is blg XI of Unit E (phase 4, fig. 5). This blg is the result of the fusion of the two small house units XIa, XIb of period KII (fig. 5, 3rd plan from bottom). It is a big, well preserved blg with a definite architectural form. It consists of a long hall with two big rooms on either side of the hall. Most probably blg XII, (fig 6, phase 3) was constructed during this period, because its walls appear to have been built against the southern walls of blg XI and they are not bonded to them. Blg II of Unit A (fig. 1, phase 3) must be contemporary with this period because

its walls cut into and overlie the architectural remains of period KII. A new lane Y skirts the southern facade of that blg. It seems blg II was constructed on a terraced plot of land, because its foundations appear at different depths (see fig. 7c). Probably blg IV of Unit B (fig. 2, phase 3) was built during this period and survived as such to the beginning of KIV, after which it was probably rebuilt as an annexe or subsidiary unit to the newly erected blg VI of Unit C (see below). Its small rooms (i.e. blg IV) and asymmetrical layout, relate it to blg II (fig. I) periods KIII/KIV. Besides, the obvious destruction it was subjected to helps to extend its date to the end of period KIV.<sup>1</sup> Probably phase 3 of Unit D (fig. 4) is contemporary with this period.

Period KIV: generally the walls of KIV are built on the same alignment as the walls of the previous period. New features, however, appear in certain architectural Units. A new hall m-m1 as well as wall K and a basin surrounded by wall st, tl, are added to blg XI (cf. fig. 5, phase 5, 3rd plan from top). The central walls of blg XII (fig. 6, sec. CC), appear to have been demolished to level KIII walls. It is not possible to tell whether this levelling of walls in this particular case is the result of the destruction that swept the city at the end of KIV and is marked in most Units, or whether it is the builders of KIV period who demolished them to afford a southern passage to the adjacent blg XI (fig. 5). However, the few extant walls of blg XII which belong to this period, appear on the same horizontal level as walls of periods JI/JII (fig. 6, secs.

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<sup>1</sup> A general destruction swept the city at the end of period KIV: see tables 1 - 7.



AA-BB, analysis of phases 4 and 5).

Blg VI of Unit C (fig. 3) offers a stratigraphical problem.

It was seen above in the analysis of this Unit (see fig. 3, phases 3 and 4) that blg VI blocks lane Y, which skirts the southern facade of blg II (KIII period). Blg VI therefore must be later than KIII, and moreover lane Y must have become obsolete during period KIV. That blg VI cannot be later than KIV is seen in sec. BB on fig. 1, where wall xa which is contemporary to blg III of JI, clearly overlies wall x of blg VI. It was also seen above, that blg V which directly underlies blg VI is earlier than lane Y and is assigned to period KII because its walls cut into house I of period KI (see table I, and fig. 7f). In this case a great deal of levelling must have been done where the architectural remains of one period (KIII) have been wiped out. This is one example where the stratigraphical record is completely missing on the plans, but it was possible to identify such a gap by means of correlations with adjacent blgs, their layout and orientation. It is interesting to note here that the part of wall m1 of blg VI facing the Obelisk complex, is demolished to below floor level.<sup>2</sup> Most probably, the builders of the Obelisk complex demolished this wall so as to clear the area facing the entrance to the forecourt. Two extant thick walls z-zy of blg IXb are partly overlaid by the south-west corner of blg X of periods JI/JII (fig. 4, sec. CC, 2nd plan from bottom and analysis of phase 4), and partly by walls p1-p2 of Unit F (fig. 6, middle plan). These walls therefore must belong to this period.

The most important blg of this period is temple XIII, which later formed a part of the Obelisk complex (Pl. II and III:2). This temple does

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2 This situation does not appear in the sections of fig. 3, because the lines of intersection AA, BB, do not cut through this part of the wall.



not appear to overlie any coherent architectural form; it must therefore be a new element which characterises this period.

That temple XIII, phase 2, belongs to this period and is earlier than the rest of the complex is clearly demonstrated in fig. 7a, secs. DD-EE. First, temple XIII shows two major structural periods, floors 2 and 3, prior to its destruction at the very beginning of the 2nd millennium. The rest of the complex shows one structural stage floor 3, before that destruction (cf. fig. 7.). Second, wall m which joins temple XIII and XV demonstrating their contemporaneity at stage 3 is later than temple XIII phase 2 (fig. 7a, sec. EE, the base of wall m is higher than the floor of temple XIII, phase 2). Third, the layout and orientation of this temple contrasts with the orientation of the religious blgs of periods JI/JII which, as we shall see later, uniformly open to the east whereas this temple opens to the west. Finally, a huge circular structure which is probably contemporary to temple XIII, phase 2, is cut into by wall m (fig. 7a, bottom plan). Other earlier circular structures<sup>3</sup> situated south of the Obelisk complex but ostensibly smaller (Pl. VII:1) can be compared to similar structures from Early Dynastic Mesopotamia.<sup>4</sup>

Periods JI/JII: Evidence of destruction is apparent in most Units of this Area at the end of Byblos KIV. This destruction is especially

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3 = These circular structures appear in fig. 3 (2nd plan from bottom). They are probably contemporary to house V of period KII because they overlie a KI wall x3. These structures however are not discussed in fig. 3.

4 See E.D. van Buren, in IRAQ 14 (1962) pp. 76ff.

eloquent in Unit E (fig. 5, phase 6). Apparently this Unit was not rebuilt subsequent to the destruction. Such desolation contrasts sadly with the adjacent temple, the Champ des Offrandes of Area III (fig. 9) which was flourishing throughout periods JI/JII. However, the huge gap which features in Unit E is relevant only to architecture because evidence of occupation does exist. Interesting pottery and metal objects were found at different levées within this gap (see chap. II, periods JI/JII). Evidence of rebuilding in the adjacent Unit F (fig. 6) is represented by phase 5. But the remains of that phase have also suffered from a further destruction as a result of which a contaminated level containing pottery of periods JI/JII (jug 11206) as well as Middle Bronze Age (10917) exists.

Blg II of Unit A (fig. 1) was also destroyed at the end of Byblos KIV, but evidence of occupation subsequent to the destruction can be happily supplemented by blg III. The gap in sec. BB cannot be a pit dug from above, but is probably the result of accumulation of debris of the destroyed house. Whether the time span of the latter blg covers both periods JI/JII is not possible to judge because the stratigraphical record is missing here. Blgs IV and VI (fig. 2 and 3 respectively) were destroyed and the walls completely levelled. It seems that blg activity was also resumed in fig. 2 where the extant remains show two phases 5 and 6 representing periods JI/JII. Phase 5 of Unit C (fig. 3) which is contemporary with these periods yielded very scrappy architecture. However, interesting pottery the origin of which could be the Euphrates basin, was

found in both figs. 2 and 3. This collection includes the so-called Syrian bottle (13455), a jug (14250) which is diagnostic for periods JI/JII, as well as red-polished squat pots (15665), see chaps. II and IVB.

Apparently the population of Byblos undertook great activity in religious blgs during periods JI/JII. Such activity is illustrated in Area I by the Obelisk complex. But judging from the pottery finds (see fig. 7b), this complex must have been built later in the period. It was seen above that rooms A, B and C of blg XVI could have been built during this period. The complexity of the stratigraphy of this blg<sup>4</sup> is revealed to some extent in fig. 7c where it is clearly seen that the walls of these rooms overlie KIII/KIV walls. It is interesting to see how the walls plunge deeper as they approach the Sacred Lake Area. In fact the whole region surrounding the Sacred Lake is considerably lower than the rest of the site<sup>5</sup> (see supra

4 Unfortunately only rooms A, B and C appear on the plans whereas the walls of rooms D, E and F are overlaid with intrusive masses of rubble. However, according to the excavator's reconstruction (Pl. VI), the latter rooms must be later than rooms A, B and C as is evident from the differences in proportions and shapes of these rooms. See FBII 2 fig. 1007.

5 The area of the Sacred Lake consisted originally of alluvial soil, thus it was easy to carve an artificial lake there. According to Dunand, the earth removed from this spot was used as a filling in the Early Bronze Age fortifications. See FB III, p. 125, note 1; FB I, p. 288ff. In fact, even now a visitor to the site can notice the marked depression of this area particularly near the Enceinte Sacrée and Sacred Well despite the horizontal levelling of the site.



analysis of the Obelisk complex and infra the Enceinte Sacrée fig. 11).

This explains the low levels of the Enceinte Sacrée,<sup>6</sup> the Obelisk complex<sup>7</sup> and the low part of the staircase of bâtiment<sup>8</sup> II, which is adjacent to the edge of the Sacred Lake.

The Obelisk complex incorporates three buildings. Blg XIV which forms the sanctuary consists of three cellae in antis built on the same axis facing eastwards (Pl. IIII and V). It will be seen that this style of religious architecture persists with slight modification down to the Roman period (cf. FB II 1, fig. 22). These cellae are preceded by a long forecourt, blg XV, which is roofed at its narrow southern end, whereas the western part is left open to the sky. In the middle of this open space stands a circular structure with an obelisk for offering burnt sacrifices (Pl. IV). Several changes have been made in blg XIII (of KIV) as a result of its annexation to this complex. The western gateway of hall A of period KIV is now blocked by wall pq of this period (see sec. EE, fig. 7a). The ritual basins (Pl. VII 2) as well as steps vy, xy, are buried

6 Only the temple of periods JI/JII appears between levels 24:00-23:00m, whereas the Early Bronze Age temple must be found in still much lower levels.

7 It was seen above in the analysis of this temple that a huge retaining wall was built on the western side of the Obelisk complex of periods J, so as to protect the temple from sagging in view of its proximity to the alluvial soil which filled in the pool of former times.

8 See plan CCVIII in FB I, where the lowest level of the staircase of bâtiment II, is 22:69m, whereas the floor level of that temple is 26:00m, see fig. 13 and analysis of this temple, phases 6-7.

beneath the floor of phase 3. (see ibid and analysis of phase 3).

Associated with this religious complex are miniature votive cups which form the hallmark of these two periods (see chap. II).

Probably, rooms D, E and F of building XVI (Pl. VI) are contemporary with JII, but this is a tentative attribution, based on their difference in shape and disposition from rooms A, B and C. It was not possible to take sections through these rooms since none appear clearly on the plans (see supra note 4).

It seems that at the end of this period another wave of destruction overtook the city. This is evidenced in most Units where a gap or break followed by a change in the layout of the houses, takes place. Such a situation is best seen in fig. 1 where a gap separates building III, of JI (and probably II) from the succeeding structures. Within that gap pottery which can be dated to the Middle Bronze Age was found (see fig. 1, nos. 12472 and 12473). A short gap also appears between blg X of JII and the subsequent structures (cf. fig. 4). Units E and F do not display such a sequence because these were not rebuilt after their destruction at the end of KIV period (cf. fig. 5 and 6). This destruction is best recorded in the Obelisk complex (fig. 7, secs. AA, CC) where a gap separates the three cellae of JII from the succeeding phase which is characterised by a roofless sanctuary built on an elevated podium. It is to the latter sanctuary that we can ascribe the jar deposits (see supra discussions of phases 3 - 6) of the Obelisk complex.

In most cases Roman or Hellenistic foundations cut into the architectural levels overlying JI/JII. These upper levels are not subject to analysis because they fall outside the scope of this study. However, certain Units as the O.T., the E.C. and the Baalat complex, etc. show a clear and important architectural sequence subsequent to the destruction of Byblos JII. This sequence is briefly discussed because it offers an important document to the chronology of Byblos and the whole Levant at the beginning of the 2nd mill. BC. Two architectural levels represented by periods HI, HII are discernable in the O.T. and the E.C. Evidence from the O.T. shows that HI (represented by phase 4) precedes Royal Tombs I and II. HII, which corresponds to phase 5, is contemporary with the latter because an obelisk dedicated to Abishemu, occupier of tomb I, was found on the floor of the HII level (cf. fig. 7, sec. AA and analysis of phases 4 and 5). This sequence is further supplemented by pottery. Some jars of phase 4 of the O.T. are still in the JI/JII tradition (cf. fig. 7b, jar 17691), while others begin to develop a rounded base probably representing an early stage in the development of the Canaanite jar, which is found in R.T. I to III (cf. Pl. LXV, jar 17261 with bottom jar from R.T. I - III). Also the goblet with a handle at the base so typical of R.T. I - III appears only in the upper levels of the O.T., but not in phase 4 (cf. fig. 7b).

Architecture subsequent to JI/JII which does not reveal a clear sequence is left out of the chronological scheme (tables 1 - 7).

Finally for a comprehensive overall view of the sequence of Area I, two reconstructed secs. AA', BB' summarise the stratigraphy of this



Area and its relationship to adjacent Areas. Sec. AA' (fig. 7c) cuts through blgs I, II and XVI. Sec. BB' (fig. 7e) is taken through Area III (the Champ des Offrandes) along horizontal line 15/16, then through Units F and D of Area I. It then continues to Area VII cutting part of the Chapelle (fig. 19) as well as other unrelated walls (see Plans I and II).

TABLE 1

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## AREA 1

		Unit	A	B	C	D	E	F	G			
		← PHASES →										
	H	II								Abishemu obelisk 5-6		
		I	6							4		
	J	II	?	6	?	5 blg X	6	5	3			
		I	5 blg III	5	5	5	6	5	3			
		← GENERAL DESTRUCTION →										
	K	IV	4	4	4	blg IXb	5	4	2			
		III	blg II	blg IV	eliminated one phase is	3	blg XI	3	1?			
		II	2	2	2 blg V	2	3	2?				
		I	1 blg I	1?	1?		2					
	L					1 burials 239- 248	1 burials 264- 265	1 sherds 17908 17909				

AREA II

Lies south of Area I, and occupies the south-western part of the eastern rocky ridge. It is set off from the rest of the city by roads B, C and D that encircle it from the east, north and west respectively. The fortifications above the wadi form its southern limit. It is a small area where the architectural remains are fragmentary; with the exception of Units A and B no coherent layout is discernible. These two units display well defined architectural forms, but they differ from each other in plan and orientation (fig. 8 and 8a).

Unit A (sq. 20-21/14) fig. 8: is a small blg. (XVII) of a megaron style with an east-west orientation. The long side walls a and b are 1.50<sup>1</sup> - 2.00m thick; thus they are too massive for the small square room they enclose. These walls are prolonged on the south-east to form a porch. Two other less massive walls x and y form another porch on the north-west side. A part of a broken wall f is preserved to 0.40m elevation only; it is built against the eastern end of wall b and is perpendicular to it. Probably, this wall served as a low front porch wall joining the ends of walls a and b.<sup>2</sup>

A circular structure is built at the end of wall y; it is probably a silo or a cistern since it is too shallow to be a well. This blg. is

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1 The original thickness of wall a is slightly less than a meter, but a retaining wall 0.60m was built against it, thus increasing its width; see plan, cote 25:00-24:00, sqs. 20-21/14.

2 A similar low front porch wall appears in the Chapelle Orientale, phase 3; the Baalat Gebal, phases 6 and 7; the Obelisk temple, phase 3.



identified as a shrine by Dunand,<sup>3</sup> and actually its plan, as well as the objects that were found in it corroborate such an identification. The top of the walls of this shrine are recorded on plan, cote 25:00-24:00m at varying elevations, while their bases appear on plan, cote 24:00-23:00m.

With the exception probably of wall f, no other architectural features appear on the plans to help establish the floor level of this shrine. Considering therefore that wall f is a low front wall, by analogy with other similar shrines at Byblos,<sup>4</sup> its top must not be much higher than the floor of the blg. In this case, therefore, the floor of the shrine could be plotted at any point between 23:80-23:70m, since the top of wall f is between 24:00-23:80m.

Most of the objects within the area of this shrine were found at a level below its foundations. If an earlier phase of this shrine did exist below 23:00m, as Dunand suggests,<sup>5</sup> then a considerable gap must have separated it from this shrine, because the bases of the wall of this shrine appear between 23:80-23:60m, (only the base of wall a appears between 23:40-23:20m).

#### Objects:

##### Sq. 20/14:

17950: a thin gold sheet which probably served as a foil cover to a conical head-dress since it still preserves its shape.

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3 FB, vol. 112, p.927

4 See note 2.

5 Dunand, loc.cit.

Not illustrated,  
h.O.033.  
Level: 23:80-23:60m.

Sq. 21/14:

17512: a silver goblet with a large flat and slightly concave base; sharp splaying sides and plain rim.  
h.O.065; d.b. 0.048; m. 0.085; th. 0.0015.

17512 bis: silver cover to the above goblet.  
h.O.02; d.O.079.

17153: miniature bowl with slightly carinated sides; flat base.  
h.O.037; d.O.052.

17154: a thin golden sheet, probably served as cover for some object. Not illustrated,

17154 bis: two small gold particles; numerous silver fragments.  
Not illustrated.

Nos. 17513- were placed inside goblet 17512 which was walled in under  
17514 bis the masonry of wall a.  
Level: 24:00-23:80m.

18571: a thick limestone disk perforated at the centre. Not illustrated.  
th. 0.034; d.O.056.

18572: a coarse pot with elongated body and flat base; big mouth with everted rim; small knob at mid-body; rough surface stops at a clear line below base of neck; resembles cup of a kernos. Not illustrated.  
h.O.064.

18575: a pot with broad body, it has a flat and slightly concave base; high broad neck with splaying sides; two knobs are placed opposite each other on the shoulders and a bucrania in relief is set in the middle; traces of fire.  
h.O.071.

18577: similar to the above but with a clay knot joining two knobs on the shoulder,  
h.O.067.

Nos. 18573, 18574, 18576, 18578 and 18579 are not illustrated but they are almost identical to the above; colour - black with purplish reflections.  
Level: 23:60-23:40m.

Sq. 20/14:

18815: a broad pot with curved sides; large flat base; large mouth with short neck and slightly splaying sides; a bucrania in relief is placed on the shoulder; greyish. h.O.065; d.O.057.

Nos. 18815 bis: 18816, 18817 are similar to the above. Not illustrated.  
Level: 23;40-23;20m.

Sq. 21/14:

18819: several horns of stags and a heap of bones were found in the south-west corner of the cella<sup>6</sup>; one of the horns has a perforation near the base.

Unit B (sqs. 18-20/16-17) fig. 8a: is a big rectangular blg. which measures 20 x 10;50m and is orientated north-south by its corners. It directly overlies the chalcolithic tombs, nos. 207, 208, 209, 210, 229 and 230. The long walls show a slight depression at the centre on their outer face; these walls are preserved to varying levels, and the range of their preserved elevation is from 1.00-1.60m. The top of some parts of these walls are recorded on plan, cote 26;00-25;00m, while their bases appear on plan, cote 25;00-24;00m. Below level 24;00m the surface of the rock is strewn with jar burials. No objects can be related to this blg.

6

It is astonishing that M. Dunand has located these objects as coming from the south-west corner of the cella of the shrine, (at level 23;20-23;00m) where actually no walls exist at this low level. Most probably these objects were laid in a pit carved during this phase. This would be the most plausible explanation for their low levels.



SUMMARY SEQUENCE TO AREA II

Period KIV, Plan I: it is difficult to assign these two blgs. to specific periods, because they do not occur in stratigraphical contexts, but constitute isolated features on the mound.

Though blg. XVIII appears to overlies the chalcolithic jar burials, it is doubtful whether this Unit is as early as its position implies. It is interesting to note that all round this building only broken and fragmentary walls appear. The fact that this blg. alone is preserved indicates that most probably it is later than the ruins around it. Possibly the extant walls of this blg. are just its foundations that plunge deep down to this low level. Its big size and isolated position lead to the assumption that it may have been a public hall. Nothing was found in it to suggest that it was a shrine. The fact that its orientation and layout contrast with blg. XVII which is assigned to period JI, and that it is in harmony with the adjacent blgs. of periods KIII to KIV, proves that it could be contemporary with the latter.

Period JI/JII, Plan II: blg. XVII can be tentatively assigned to periods JI/JII, because its architectural planning and orientation are similar to other shrines of this period. Moreover, the dark grey and black pottery assemblage which is associated with this blg. is not recorded from earlier levels at Byblos (see infra, Chap. II for a study of the pottery sequence from Byblos).

AREA II

Unit

A

B

PHASES

H

J

II

I

1

GENERAL

DESTRUCTION

K

IV

III

II

I

1

L

AREA III, III.1

Is an ill-defined area where five important but widely separated blgs. are arbitrarily grouped together. These blgs. form an arc that extends from the north-west to the south-western parts of the city. Unit D lies on the north-west periphery of this arc, while Unit A or the Champ des Offrandes temple occupies its south-western end. In the centre lies the Enceinte Sacree between Unit E and the Sacred Well (Plans I and II).

Unit A (sq. 14-16/12-14) fig. 9:

Phase 1: walls b4, z, v and r1 seem to constitute the earliest phase of this Unit. (2nd plan from bottom, the dotted walls). Walls b4 and z are neither bonded to any of the other walls nor are they reproduced in the subsequent phase (sec. AA). Wall v does not appear in the secs. Its measurements are given as follows, top level: 23:80-23:60m; base level: 23:40-23:20m. Apparently it was rebuilt in the succeeding phase (see under phase 2). Wall r1 seems to have become foundational to wall r of phase 2 (sec. BB). The foundations of other walls plunge deep down even to levels lower than the bases of the walls of this phase. It is not possible to confirm whether this means they are contemporary. In the case of wall o it is obvious that it has been used in this phase as it shows evidence of rebuilding at level 23:40-23:20m (sec. BB). Nothing was recorded from this Unit at this stage except a small stamped sherd.



Objects:Sq. 15/14:

18526            a coarse handle stamped with a geometric design.  
                  L. of stamp: 0.05  
                  Level: 23:60-23:40m.

Phase 2:        the general plan which appears now is that of a blg complex no. XIX comprising six small rooms laid out in the shape of an inverted L. Rooms o-p, p-q, q-r, are built on a north-south axis whereas the other three rooms a2-b3, b3-e3, e3-cl, have an east-west orientation. This type of architecture, i.e. several rooms built on the same axis, is a common feature at Byblos in the K periods (cf: Area I, fig. 3, house V; Area IV, fig. 15 and Area VII, fig. 23). The unbonded corner of walls cl-r is architecturally unacceptable because the other corners of the same walls r-a2, a2-s, s-cl, are all bonded. This phenomenon, therefore, must be the result of an error on the part of the surveyor. Several architectural features suggest an approximate level of <sup>+</sup> - 24:10m to the floors of this blg. These features consist of a stone base set along wall b5, the surface level of which is between 24:40-24:20m, a low porch wall y which might have served as a base for a wooden screen or a door sill is coloured as to be between 24:20-24:00m, and finally, a protruding ledge set against the eastern face of wall x, the surface level of which is also between 24:20-24:00m. Wall x seems to have served as a boundary wall between blg XIX and an adjacent blg of which very little survives.

The following pottery deposit was found at an approximate level to the floor of this phase; it could therefore be contemporary with it.

Objects:Sq. 15/13:

- 16807 a juglet with broad body, high cylindrical neck; handle from mid neck to shoulder; narrow stump base, with slightly splaying sides; cross hatched decoration. h.O.162; m.d. O.073.
- 16808 a big hemispherical bowl with outrolled rim and flattened base; cross-hatching inside. h. O.101; d. O.071.
- 16809 a plate with a large convex base and almost vertical sides; cross-hatching inside. Not illustrated. d. O.19; h. O.03.
- 16810 a thin shallow bowl with largely splaying sides and sharp rim traces of wheel on the outside and cross-hatching inside. h. O.035; d. O.119.
- 16811 a bowl with a flattened base and slightly convex sides; constriction below rim which is everted. h. O.043; d. O.085.

All the above objects were found together.

Level: 24:20-24:00m.

Sq. 14/16:

- 17418 a dark green schist fragment of an Egyptian palette on which is inscribed probably a tower surmounted by a falcon and a uraeus. It may be intrusive here. Level: 24:00-23:80m.

Phase 3: blg XIX is reused again with the addition of room n-o, the walls of which are not bonded to other walls, (see sec. BB for wall n). Walls x1-x2 seem to have been constructed in this phase enclosing a large hall or courtyard. The level of the paved entrance between wall x2 and room n-o is between 23:60-23:40m. The thickened end of wall z1 is not bonded to the

southern corner of room o-p. It could have been a door sill, the level of which is between 23:60-23:40m. These two architectural features suggest that the floor level of this blg could be  $\pm$  23:50m. Most probably, the following objects belong to this phase as their level implies.

Objects:

Sq. 15/13:

16364 a juglet with an elongated body, high neck and flaring rim; a flat narrow base with slightly splaying sides; handle from rim to shoulder; surface is completely eroded. Not illustrated.  
h. 0.146; m.d. 0.057.

Sq. 15/14:

16365 a juglet similar to the above, but with a broader body; surface is decorated with cross hatching.  
h. 0.132; m.d. 0.06.

16366 a small bowl with a rounded base and tapering rim.  
h. 0.037; d. 0.083.  
Level: 24:40-24:20m.

Phase 4: the only evidence for the existence of this phase is wall x3 the base of which is at the same level as the floor of phase 3, thus it must be later than that phase. It is not known whether the enclosed area x1-y was meant to be an open courtyard or a roofed hall. Probably the construction of wall x3 indicates that this area was originally open, and wall x3 was built so as to enclose a roofed space, while the rest was left as an open courtyard. It is unfortunate that no stone bases survive in this blg, the existence of which could have answered these speculations.

Phase 5: will be assigned to the destruction level which seems to have wiped out a whole structural phase. Evidence for this comes from



the ,scrappy architectural remains which are scattered around the podium of the succeeding temple at levels lower than the floor of the latter (see sec. AA, walls a1, b2 and 2nd plan from top). Also the stone slab e which serves as a step leading to the podium, overlies wall b2 (see ibid). The following objects appear to be related to this phase (secs. AA, BB).

Sq. 15/13:

14246 a jug with a broad body, and very wide high neck, the size of which is larger than the main body. The base is narrow and very tall and the handle joins rim and shoulder. The body is decorated with cross hatching while the base is vertically burnished (cf. Pl. LXXIV: type A13).  
h. 0.157; m.d. 0.07.  
Level: 25:00-24:80m.

14654 a reddish broad platter with a flattened base, vertical walls and a plain rim.  
h. 0.043; d. 0.224.

Sq. 15/14:

14655 a whitish vase with a globular body, narrow almost ring base; the neck is large and short with largely splaying sides and outrolled rim. The surface is well smoothed but not burnished.  
h. 0.075; m.d. 0.082.  
Level: 24:80-24:60m.

Phase 6: above the levelled ruins of blg XIX, a temple was erected, the Champ des Offrandes. It displays a new architectural form and a total disregard for the earlier city's layout. Two major roads, C and D, are now incorporated within the temple's courtyard (see bottom plan and 2nd from top). This temple consists of a square podium

(7:25m x 7:25m) set in a trapezoidal court and surrounded by an irregular enclosure wall. Only scanty fragments of this enclosure are preserved; its northern and southern parts (walls g and m/ml) probably belong to this phase.

Apparently, before the foundations of the podium were laid, the area was excavated to a depth of at least 1;20m. This clearance was systematically conducted in the area along the north-south axis of the new temple (see sec. BB and bottom plan). It was seen above that most probably a whole structural phase has disappeared through this process of levelling and demolishing of earlier walls for the purpose of erecting the new temple.

It seems that only the upper part of the podium was meant to appear above the ground. This is seen from the lowest step (26:20-26:00m) which descends to the courtyard of the temple, the level of which corresponds with the surface level of the podium (see sec. AA, where the maximum elevation of the podium is preserved). Moreover, the base of the big stone slab e (1:40 x 1:00m) which is set against the western wall of the podium, overlying wall b2 of phase 5, is given as between 25:80-25:60m, while its surface level is coloured as to be between 26:00-25:80m. Therefore the floor of the temple could be plotted as <sup>+</sup> 25 90m. (sec. AA.)

The lowest level of the jar deposits is at least 0:50m above the floor of this phase, thus they cannot possibly belong to the temple at this stage.

Objects:Sq. 15/13:

- 12130: a marble disk perforated at the centre. Not illustrated.  
d.O.059.
- 12133: a bronze figurine with a conical head-dress, and left foot forward; tenon still appears under each foot.  
h.O.072.
- 12136: a deposit of fifty-five miniature cups that falls into five groups.
1. eight cups with flat bases and upright sinuous sides.
  2. thirty examples in the shape of egg cups.
  3. sixteen examples with almost cylindrical bodies and a constriction above their bases.
  4. one example of a conical cup.
- h. from 0.035-0.06.  
Level: 26;00-25;80m.
- 12524: twenty-two cups similar to the above.  
h. from 0.029-0.057.  
Level: 25;80-25;60m.
- 13140- fourteen miniature cups, mostly conical in form; some  
13152: have a constriction below the rim; traces of wheel on their surfaces. Not illustrated.  
Level: 25;40-25;20m.

Phase 7: scanty architectural remains represented by walls ah, c, and h forming an oblong surrounded by enclosure b, g and d, belong to this phase (top plan, dotted walls). These walls form an irregular plan of a greatly disturbed temple. It seems also that the temple of phase 6 has been destroyed as very little of its furnishing survives. The builders of this phase have also re-used several of the earlier walls, for example walls g and d. Most probably part of wall m has been reproduced as is suggested by an



extant fragment of wall m2. (top plan). Also the stony podium served as excellent foundations for walls b and c of this phase (sec. AA). It is difficult however to explain the gap which features between the bases of walls h, ah of this phase and the earlier structures when the base of wall c which is bonded to wall h rests on the podium of phase 6 (secs. AA, BB). Possibly, being inner walls which did not require much strength, the builders of this temple did not dig deeply for their foundations.

The rich deposits which were uncovered from the precincts of this temple (twenty two deposits )<sup>1</sup> contrast greatly with the poverty of its architectural remains. These deposits were found between levels 26:60/26:40m to 27:80/27:60m. It seems that a second major phase of this temple had existed as is indicated by the extant fragment f2 (top plan). The loose pottery finds show great similarity to vessels from the Obelisk temple, phases 4 and 5 (compare jar 11485 with a similar jar, no. 19247, illustrated on fig. 7b).

Walls a, ab, and f, which constitute the foundations of blg XXI, identified by the excavator as a Hellenistic villa ? (see under phase 8), plunge deep down to the level of the lowest jar deposits.

Phase 8: though phases 7 and 8 are definitely post-third millennium as the character of the finds and their stratigraphy imply, they are discussed here for their intrinsic value in contributing to the knowledge of the archaeological sequence and to the dating of the temples and jar deposits of Byblos.

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1 An error occurs in the recording of these deposits whereby letter r is omitted, and two deposits are grouped under one letter see FBII, 1, p. 382.

It was stated above that blg XXI was identified as a Hellenistic villa by the excavator.<sup>2</sup> If so, it would be most astonishing that the builders of this villa have spared the richness of these deposits. It is more likely that it was a temple whereby the sanctity of the place was respected and preserved. This is further corroborated by the fact that wall f of blg XXI is extended westward so as to form an enclosure around the area of the earlier temple (top plan). However, that this building could date to the Hellenistic era or even later is quite plausible.<sup>3</sup> The loose finds which can be related to this building corroborate this dating. These finds include an alabaster vase (7843) which is almost identical to vase 1142 which was found in the sarcophagus of Batno'am,<sup>4</sup> mother of Ozbaal, king of Byblos c. 350 B.C.<sup>5</sup> A Hellenistic fragment of a pottery vase (9611) is recorded from grid sq. 16/13. From grid sq. 15/13, two bronze coins (7848) are recorded. One coin is minted with the name of emperor Domitian, while the other carries the name of emperor Hadrian. Two jars (7910, 7912) are recorded from grid sq. 15/14. These are compared by the excavator<sup>6</sup> to the jars

2 FB II 1, p.128

3 Such a disposition is very common at Byblos where foundations of Hellenistic or Roman buildings cut deeply into much earlier levels. Cf. the Baalat Gebal complex, fig. 13 in its last phase; the Obelisk temple, figs. 7-7a, and the Chapelle Orientale, fig. 19.

4 FB II 1, p.151 and FB I, p.31.

5 G.F. Hill, Catalogue of the Greek coins of Phoenicia, pp.95-96. Also W. Albright, in JAOS, LXVII(1947) pp.153-160.

6 FB II 1, p.156.

used in the caves of Palestine to house the DeadSea scrolls. In fact good parallels can be adduced from Palestine during the Roman era.<sup>7</sup>

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7 K. Kenyon et al, Samaria-Sebaste III, fig. 69: 11, 12, p. 299; fig. 71:1, p. 303.



Unit B, (sqs. 11-13/13-15) fig. 10.

This Unit is situated on the eastern side of road D, north of blg XIX (plan I) which is partly contemporary with blg XXII of this Unit (see Summary of this Area, periods KIII, KIV).

Phase 1: is represented by walls sl/s and y which underlie rooms f2-nl, nl-zl respectively (sec. BB, right plan, dotted walls). Room nl-zl belongs to blg XXIII (see phase 2). No objects can be specifically related to these walls.

Phase 2: overlying the walls of phase 1 appears two blgs XXII and XXIII. Blg XXII consists of seven oblong rooms (probably eight) of similar size (right plan; for the complete plan of blg XXIII, see plan I). Several stone bases, doorways and benches which are marked in this blg help us to establish approximate levels to its floors. The stone bases in rooms t-u, u-v and dl-el, the passage in wall y and the stone bench against wall el, are all coloured as to be between 23:60-23:40m. The top of the foundation of wall p2 and the paved entrance to room pl-f2 are given between 23:40-23:20m. The floor of room f2-nl is slightly higher because the tops of walls sl/s which lie beneath its floor are preserved to a level between 23:80-23:60m. The floor of the room could not therefore be lower than 23:70m (right plan and secs. AA, BB). This proposed level is further supplemented by the passage in wall f2 and the bench which is set against wall fl, the levels of which are both between 23:80-23:60m. Blg XXIII which is sandwiched between blgs XXII and XIX shares wall nl with the former and walls x, x1, x2 with the latter, (fig. 9 and plan I). This proves that phase

2 of this Unit is contemporary with blg XIX, phase 3 since it was discussed above that walls x1, x2 of blg XIX were built in phase 3 (see analysis of fig. 9). Blg XXII could not have been initially constructed in phase 2 since several of its walls are unbonded, an indication that this blg grew into its present shape through a process of accretion which could have spanned several generations. Also because most of the walls of this blg plunge deep down below the lowest published level (secs. AA, BB), the layout of the supposed initial phases of this blg are unfortunately beyond our grasp.

Because of the proximity of this Unit to the Sacred Wall area where intense building activities were continuously carried out and especially during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, late objects slipped down to deep levels. It is especially true of the north and north-western parts of blg XXII which are nearest to the sacred enclosure of the Well, that broken walls and signs of great disturbances abound (see plans 25:00-24:00 and 24:00-23:00m, grids 10-11/13-15). This is why we find an important pottery deposit, nos. 18107-18249 (sec. BB, right plan) buried at a deep level when in actual fact, it belongs to the Middle Bronze Age (see chap. II and IV).

Great caution is taken here in relating objects to this blg and in fact very few are listed below. Only objects which are accurately plotted on the plans and a few others which come from grid sqs located further away from the area of great disturbance are illustrated on fig. 10.

Objects:

18387            a small bowl with a flat base and outrolled rim.  
                  h. 0.043; d. 0.074.  
                  Level: 23:60-23:40m.

Phase 3:       evidence for a second structural phase of this Unit comes specifically from walls d, e (sec. AA) and p (sec. BB and middle plan). The floor level of this phase can be deduced from the following occupational features; a ledge is set against wall d and is coloured as to be between 24:20-24:00m. Three stone bases in room n1-z1 are given as between 24:40-24:20m and the bench against wall z1 is coloured as to be between 24:20-24:00m. On the other hand the surface level of the main entrance to the latter room is between 24:60-24:40m. This variation in height could perhaps indicate two occupational floors. The earlier floor could be plotted at  $\pm$  24:10m, while the second could be  $\pm$  24:50m.

It seems that at the end of this phase, both blgs XXII and XXIII were subject to a destruction evidence of which appears in secs. AA and BB.

Sq. 12/14:

17851:           a hemispherical bowl with thin sides and sharp rim which is blackened through firing. Fine traces of wheel on the outside. Not illustrated.  
                  h. 0.042; d. 0.082.

15867            a shallow bowl with a flat irregular base and thick walls.  
                  h. 0.087; d. 0.092. Not illustrated.

15866            an alabaster model of an Egyptian shoulder jar; the rim is rolled.  
                  h. 0.087; m.d. 0.034.  
                  Level: 24:40-24:20m.



Phase 4: evidence for the existence of a separate phase 4 is very difficult to define. Walls m1, h, cannot be attributed to the preceding phase because a gap of 0:20m-0:40m separates these walls from those of phase 3 (sec. BB). The fact that the top of wall m2 is preserved to a level lower than the floors of phase 3, indicates that that wall had been destroyed and its stones robbed. This assumption is based on the fact that wall m2 is basic to blg XXII and it is most likely that it should have been rebuilt along with the other walls in phase 3). On the other hand it is not possible to confirm whether walls m1, j2 are extant remains of a demolished blg which represents this phase or whether they are mere foundations to walls m and j (secs. AA, BB). Furthermore, wall z2 is separated from wall z3 of phase 3 by a gap of at least 0:40m, and wall z which is bonded to wall zm, is separated from wall z1 by a gap of 0:60m (sec. BB). However, walls z, zm are most probably later than walls m1, h and j2 (see under phase 5).

Sq. 11/14:

17683

a ?bronze object (wand/pin ?) in a very bad state of preservation. It was only possible to identify two quadrepds attached from the front, a lion and perhaps a horned animal.

L. O.054.

17684

a ?bronze pin which splits at the edge forming two stems on which stand two antithetical human figurines with exaggerated heads.

L. O.055.

17685

a ?bronze pin with a flattened, diamond shaped head, the edge of which is slightly rolled.

L. O.055.

Level: 23:80-23:60m.

Two of the last three pins are accurately plotted on the coloured plan 25:00-24:00m as coming from room q-pl. But one cannot assume that

these pins have come from beneath a sealed floor of phase 3 because this room, being close to the Sacred Well area, was apparently subject to disturbances as is seen from its demolished wall q the top of which does not rise above the floor level of phase 2 (sec. BB). For this reason the pins are considered as intrusive in their low levels and are listed under this phase.<sup>8</sup> Besides, the style of these pins is reminiscent of Hissar III<sup>8</sup> wands which can be dated to early second mill. Other occurrences of pins with exotic or<sup>9</sup> zoomorphic heads are fully described in a recent work by Moorey.

Probably the following objects belong to this phase as well.

15594: a limestone model of a small boat with a drilled hole in the centre.  
L. 0.151; h. 0.055.  
Level: 24:60-24:40m.

Sq. 13/14:

17116 a sharp edged votive disk with a central perforation from one end to the other; it could be a representation of a wheel.

This object was found after the demolition of all walls between 25:00 and 24:00m levels.

Phase 5: subsequent to the destruction of blgs XXII, XXIII and a possible intermediate phase 4, a sharp break in the architectural sequence appears (left plan). The plan on the left reveals two, possibly three, superimposed architectural layers which show completely new planning concepts. Objects which can be associated with these architectural layers suggest that building activity was not resumed in this Unit till a very late date.

Sq. 12/14:

13411 a big steatite scarab engraved with the name of Amenophis III (1417-1379 BC).  
Level: 25:20-25:00m.

8 E.F. Schmidt, Tepe Hissar, fig. 116, 117, Pl. XLVIII, pp. 194ff. For a recent dating of Hissar IIIC, see R.H. Dyson, in Chronologies, pp. 241-242. Also P.R.S. Moorey, Ancient Bronzes, p. 192.

9 P.R.S. Moorey, ibid., pp. 172ff.



13051 a terra-cotta bust of a female figurine which is attributed by the excavator to either the Persian period or the beginning of the Hellenistic era.  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

The Enceinte Sacrée.

Unit C (sqgs. 7-9/10-13, fig. 11): the EC temple is represented by three structural stages on the coloured plans. Like the Obelisk temple, the EC is situated in a depression area which is lower than most other parts of the site. This is why the early stages of this temple are to be found below cote 23:00m. Most of the walls in secs. AA, BB appear to continue further down.

Phase 1: at this stage the EC is on a tripartite plan with a central cella and two side chambers of unequal size facing eastwards (right plan). The cella is identified from the altar which is placed slightly off-centre. A flight of three steps leading up to the cella indicates the entrance which is not marked on the coloured plans because it is overlaid by wall c of the succeeding temple ECII. To the left of the entrance is a built-in basin probably for ablutions or other ritual purposes.

Wall h of temple ECII cuts across wall b3 of this phase (represented by temple ECI) using wall h2 of the latter as foundations. Part of wall h2 appears beneath the recess of wall h (right plan and sec. BB). Walls b and c of temple ECII overlies walls b3, c1 of ECI. Walls of this phase which are not overlaid by ECII walls show perfect bonding (walls b3 and s). The re-use of earlier walls as foundations to walls of a later period is never marked on the coloured plans. This situation constitutes one of the major problems of reconstructing blgs at Byblos.



Similar situations appear in the Obelisk temple and the Chapelle Orientale (figs. 7-7a and 19).

A bench set against wall s gives an approximate level of  $\pm$  23:15m to the floor of room s-p. The floors of rooms h1-h2 and h2-s are probably slightly higher because a patch of pavement in room h1-h2 is coloured as to be between 23:40-23:20m. Also judging from the fragment of wall h2 which appears beneath wall h, the base of the former wall is between 23:20-23:00m.

Phase 2: the only evidence for the existence of this phase are the three steps which lead to the cella. The landing of the steps facing the altar is coloured as to be between 23:80-23:60m giving an approximate level of  $\pm$  23:70m to the floor of this phase (secs. AA, BB).

#### Objects:

##### Sq. 7/12.

19199

a pot with a large mouth, very short neck with splayed walls and everted rim. The base is large and flat.  
h. 0.18.

It was built into the masonry of this temple at a level between

##### Sq. 9/11.

18033 bis:

a metal pin having the edge hammered into thin wires forming a loop; the remainder of which is wrapped round the base of the loop.

L: 0.102.

18033 ter:

a metal tweezers.

L: 0.065.

Level: 23:60-23:40m.

#### Phase 3:

the stratigraphical position as well as the pottery of ECII

(jug 17623) suggests that it falls outside the scope of this study.

A group of jugs (18028 bis, 18654) similar to those of R.T. I-III<sup>10</sup>

were found in a pit carved in the western part of the courtyard.

This pit could be related either to this or more probably to the succeeding phase. A kerb of stones surrounding the mouth of the pit appear at an approximate level to the walls of this phase.

This suggests that the mouth of the pit is at a higher level than the floors of ECII which are given at  $\pm$  24:30m. Deposits 14750, 14759 probably belong to this phase as they appear at a level lower than the adjacent column base of the succeeding ECIII temple (sec. AA and left plan).

Phase 4: is merely represented by its courtyard walls d, d1 and the two column bases e, e1 (left plan, sec. AA). The column base gives an approximate level to the floor of this phase at  $\pm$  24:80m. Probably these architectural elements are contemporary with a second floor of temple ECII, but the remains of which have been either destroyed or not observed. Walls d, d1 and the column base e are reproduced in the subsequent phase as is shown in sec. AA. The jar deposits 13664, 13600, 14018, 14412 belong to the succeeding phase as their levels imply.

Unit D (sqs. 1-3/7-8, fig. 12):

This Unit is represented by blg XXV. It is a big rectangular hall measuring 19:00 x 11:20m built adjacent to a vast residence<sup>11</sup> (according to the excavator's<sup>description</sup> the latter must be similar to blg XI, fig. 5) of which nothing appears on the plans save a black line indicating its

southern facade. Appended to the western ends of this hall are sparse remains of another blg, probably similar to blg XI as well. The walls of this hall are thick (1:20m) revealing well-matched corners with perfect bonding, a fact which indicates an advanced knowledge and skill in masonry. The walls are characterized by depressions in their outer face resulting in projections on the inner side. Big stone bases (pillar supports) appear along the walls and in the corners of the hall. The furnishings of this blg consist of a squarish structure set near the southern wall and a transverse partition not exactly in the middle of the latter. On the floor of this blg a great amount of precious stone vases were found charred by fire and covered by a layer of ashes. Two fragments of this deposit are inscribed with the name of either Phiops I or II, while a third fragment bears the name of queen Hetep-heres of the IV Dynasty. The fact that this blg constitutes an isolated feature on the mound with no blg activities recorded above its levels, nor presumably from beneath, gives us a unique opportunity for using the stone vessels to date this blg. The situation here is completely different from that of the Baalat-Gebal temple where that complex had been continuously rebuilt throughout the two millennia of its existence. The great disturbances, which are characteristic of that temple, preclude the possibility of using material not recorded in-situ to date a certain level. In this blg where no signs of disturbances can be detected, it can be assumed that the level of ashes covering the stone deposit and its floor is intact. Since no inscriptions later than the VIth



Dynasty appear in this deposit, the blg can be dated to the end of the VIth Dynasty, that is the reign of king Phiops II.

A few items of this deposit are listed below; unfortunately no pottery is recorded from this blg. For a complete list of all the stone vessels recorded from this blg, see FB, II2, pp. 929-937, fig. 974, fig. 1087, 1017-1018, fig. 1123.

Objects:

Sq. 3/7:

- 17540 fragment of an alabaster offering table inscribed with the cartouche of either Phiops I or II.  
l. 0.133.
- 17544 fragment of a convex circular cover with a margin of close oblique incisions preceded by a circular line.
- 17546 fragment of a globular vase with a bevelled rim decorated with a band of chevrons round the rim.  
l. 0.08.
- 17548 bis fragment of a vase with a flat base, almost cylindrical body and wide mouth with a bevelled rim.  
h. 0.156.
- 17552 a shallow bowl with narrow flat base, wide mouth and sharply everted rim with a constriction directly below the rim.  
h. 0.056; d. 0.21
- 17563 two fragments of a tray in grey alabaster incised with an intricate and floral design.  
d. 0.177; m.th. 0.015.
- 17556 a long fluted base of a vase or tray.  
h. 0.13; d. 0.050.  
Level: 23:80-23:60m.

Sq. 3/8:

- 17975 bis fragments of a flattened spherical breccia bowl with cylindrical handles perforated horizontally.  
Reconstructed d. 0.235  
Level: 23:60-23:40m.

Sq. 2/8:

- 18597 fragments of a circular offering table in micro-diorite.

Reconstructed d. 0.33  
 Level: 23:40-23:20m.

Unit E (sqs. 6-9/8-9, fig. 12a): is represented by blg XXVI.

The extant walls are fragmentary and greatly disturbed. Only the top of the foundations and a patch of pavement from this blg are indicated on plan cote 24:00-23:00m. The floor level of this blg judging by the level of the stone bases and the extant pavement in the hall must be  $\pm$  23:30m. The general layout of the walls suggests a similar plan to Unit D, blg XXV, i.e. a big rectangular hall appended to a house with a central hall flanked on either side by two rooms.

No objects are recorded from this blg save part of a statuette (17600) made of enamelled paste with four largely effaced lines of hieroglyphs; it was found about 0.30m above the floor level of the big hall.

SUMMARY SEQUENCE TO AREA III (table 3, fig. 12b).

Apparently the dominant Unit of this Area is Unit A (fig. 9) because it reveals a succession of phases covering the major parts of the third millennium at Byblos.

Period L: seems to be represented here only in the extreme west near building XXV where the surface of the mound is rocky. Few jar burials appear strewn around this Area. Wall a of building XXV cuts into jar 293. None of the contents of these burials is illustrated.

Period KI: no architectural activity can be associated with this period save perhaps a few walls of building XIX, phase 1 (see supra analysis of this temple, fig. 9). Most of these walls are reproduced on the same lines in phase 2, suggesting a cultural continuity with the latter.

Period KII: it is apparent from the several unbonded walls of building XIX that its layout is not pre-planned, but has multiplied through a system of accretion. The nucleus of this building seems to consist of six rooms o-p, p-q, q-r, a2-b3, b3-e3 and e3-cl; room n-o and hall x-y must have been added later. But at which stage this addition occurred is difficult to tell. However, on analogy with other adjacent buildings, especially building XI of Area I (fig. 5), this enlargement is more likely to have happened at the beginning of KIII. An interesting pottery assemblage is associated with this building; it was found between 24,20-24,00m, approximately level with the floor of building XIX (see fig. 9). For the cultural and



chronological links of jug 16807 (type A4) of this deposit see chap. IVA.

Period KIII: is represented by phases 3 and 4 of blg XIX. At this stage a new room n-o has been added as well as a courtyard bounded by walls x1-x2 and appended to west of the blg. This courtyard was further partitioned by wall x3 perhaps during phase 4. Blg XXIII which shares walls n1 with blg XXII and x1-x2 with blg XIX confirms the contemporaneity of these three blgs. In fact, the big size and symmetrical arrangement of blg XXII as it appears in phase 2 excludes the possibility of it being earlier than this period (fig. 10, right plan). A fourth blg XXIV (Plan I) is most probably contemporary to the rest of the blgs mentioned above.

Period KIV: architecture from Unit A (including phases 4 and 5) which can be assigned to this period is almost wiped out by the builders of the Champ des Offrandes temple of the succeeding period (fig. 9, analysis of phases 5 and 6). This is seen from the extant scrappy walls which are scattered around the huge podium of the succeeding periods JI/JII. Blg XXII shows a second structural phase with thick walls (fig. 10, analysis of phase 3) which was also destroyed at the end of phase 3. Evidence of this destruction appears in the extant broken walls and the gap which separates them from the succeeding walls of phase 4 (fig. 10, sec. AA).

Contemporary with period KIV are blgs XXV and XXVI (fig. 12 and 12a respectively). These are big rectangular halls with thick walls

which display perfect bonding. The walls are also characterised by shallow recesses on their outside faces, resulting in a form of pilaster projection on the inner sides of the same walls. These halls are appended to blgs with impressive dimensions<sup>1</sup> (see fig. 12 and 12a). The bg associated with hall XXV consists of a long central hall flanked by two oblong rooms on either side of the hall.<sup>2</sup> This layout seems to be almost identical to bg XI of Area I (periods KIII-KIV, see Pl. XXX, no. 4). Hall XXV revealed a good stratigraphical feature; a layer of ashes covered the floor of the hall and left its mark on a great collection of stone vessels. Among these, fragment no. 17538 is inscribed with the name of Hetepheres,<sup>3</sup> wife of King Sneferu, the first pharaoh of the IVth dynasty. Another fragment, no. 17540, bears the prenomen of either Phiops I or II of the VIth dynasty.<sup>4</sup> This is one of the rare cases at Byblos where alabasters are found in situ and appear to be stratigraphically safe.<sup>5</sup> No blgs are

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1 Unfortunately, very little of these blgs appear on the plans. For a description of bg XXV, see FB II2, pp. 899-1000. Also Byblos, plan on pp. 44-45, no. 17.

2 Ibid.

3 P. Montet, in, KEMI (1962) p. 87.

4 FB II2, p. 929.

5 See for example table 8, where a list of alabasters inscribed with Old Kingdom names of kings and officials appear almost in all levels at Byblos, a fact which shows the unreliability of their stratigraphical contexts. However, this deposit is a different case because it occurs in an isolated building under a layer of ashes, with no signs of later intrusions or disturbances.

superimposed on these halls; neither are they preceded by earlier ones; at least nothing is published. It seems that the alabaster deposit was a collection made over the ages by a family of Byblite merchant princes or by a line of successive Egyptian officials residing at Byblos, because this deposit contains inscriptions from the IVth and VIth dynasties. However, no pottery was found with this collection, as in the Baalat complex, to warrant a date later than the VIth dynasty. Moreover, the VIth dynasty date implied by the deposit can be reinforced by the fact that the style of these large halls is almost identical to blg XXVII of Area IV, contemporary with period KIV; the latter is assigned to KIV period because its western wall is overlaid by the staircase of batiment II, dated to JI/JII periods (see infra, analysis of the Baalat complex (fig. 13)). It has been shown above in Areas I and III that Byblos suffered a great destruction at the end of KIV. This period is contemporary with the Egyptian VIth dynasty (see chap. IV A and table 9). However, the relationship of these halls to the big blgs must have had an important functional purpose. Most probably they served as audience halls<sup>6</sup> where the princes or chiefs of the city received their countrymen, especially the sailors coming back from long voyages, and listened to their adventures, business deals, complaints, etc.

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6 Audience halls attached to large residences are still common in the Lebanon. The rich landowner receives there his male guests, his followers and peasants.



Dunand's record of these halls is rather confusing and contradictory. At one point he ascribes these blgs to the Amorite people whom he describes as nomads.<sup>7</sup> The technical skill revealed in the masonry of these halls is certainly beyond the ability of nomadic people no matter how high their aspirations are. Confronted perhaps with the stratigraphical datum of the alabaster deposit, Dunand adds that these halls started to appear associated with Early Bronze Age pottery, shortly before the destruction which ravaged Byblos at the end of that age.<sup>8</sup> But he emphasizes that the full development of these halls is the Middle Bronze Age 1<sup>9</sup> and 2. His argument, therefore, presupposes a cultural continuity in the two periods, a phenomenon he rejects in the following strong words: 'Brusquement, cette belle continuité est interrompue, architecture et céramique se transforment et s'engagent dans des voies nouvelles.'<sup>10</sup> He sounds even more emphatic in the following: 'Ces changements dans l'architecture sont les plus considérables que nous ayons jamais rencontrés dans les fouilles de Byblos. Ils ne représentent pas le résultat d'une évolution ou d'une dégénérescence des modes de bâtir traditionels. Ils attestent une modification radicale dans l'économie urbaine et l'organisation domestique.'<sup>11</sup> Stangely enough, and in the same

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7 Dunand, in BMB, 1955, vol. XII, p. 9.

8 Idem., RB, (1952) p. 86.

9 Dunand, loc.cit.

10 Ibid., p. 85.

11 Ibid., pp. 86-87.

article, Dunand falls again into what completely contradicts his above quoted words. He tries to survey the sequence of these halls and gives the following examples:<sup>12</sup> a hall was built near batiment II of the Baalat complex after the destruction of the latter at the end of the reign of Phiops II (no doubt this must be blg XXVII). It was stated above that the stratigraphical records in plans CCIX, CCVIII (see FBI), show clearly that the western wall of blg XXVII is overlaid by the staircase of batiment II dated to JI-JII periods. This obviously makes the blg/hall earlier than the temple, and not vice versa. Secondly, Dunand states that the other halls preceded the fire. Does this mean that these halls were built and went out of use before the destruction? Thirdly, Dunand cites an example of a hall which was ravaged by this fire (most probably he is referring to blg XXV discussed above). How his sequence of these halls can be reconciled with his theory of a total architectural break is really puzzling. These contradictory remarks and unorthodox views no doubt reflect a confused stratigraphy. In conclusion it must be emphasized that these halls whether on stratigraphical or typological grounds appear to pre-date the general destruction of Byblos KIV. Blgs XXV (fig. 12), XIX (fig 9), and XXII (fig. 10) of this Area<sup>13</sup> corroborate the destruction phenomenon which appears in almost every Unit in Area I at the end of period KIV (cf. tables

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12 Ibid., p. 87.

13 The KIV phase of the Enceinte Sacree or Unit C, does not appear on the published plans since it falls within levels lower than 23:00m. However, according to Dunand, the

1 and 3).

Period JI: subsequent to the destruction of KIV levels, blg activity was resumed in Units A and C only. A new temple, the Champ des Offrandes (fig. 9, bottom and middle plan) replaced building complex XIX. The new temple consists of a square podium with a massive substructure, the upper part of which only appeared above ground level (see analysis of phases 5 and 6). To build this substructure a systematic clearance was carried out along the north-south axis of the podium and, in the process, probably the remains of two structural phases were wiped out. Furthermore, the builders of the Champ des Offrandes completely disregarded the city's earlier layout, because two major roads which were in use prior to the destruction, are now incorporated within the temple's courtyard (fig. 9, bottom plan).

Associated with the temple of this period are miniature votive cups 12136 and 12524. Identical cups were found in contemporary contexts; the Obelisk complex of JII (fig. 7b), phases 6/7 of the Baalat complex (fig. 13) and phases 4/5 of the Chapelle Orientale (fig. 19).

Analysis of sections AA-BB (fig. 11) revealed three main stages in the Enceinte Sacrée temple, (ECI, ECII, ECIII). The earliest of these (ECI), which appears on the lowest plan cote 24:00-23:00m, is most probably contemporary with JI-JII periods. According to Dunand,

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temple which figures on plan cote 24:00-23:00m, was built subsequent to a destruction which left its mark on the earlier temple; FBII2, p. 899.



this phase of the temple was built subsequent to a destruction which left its mark on an earlier blg with an oval enclosure.<sup>14</sup> The latter does not appear on the plans because it falls within levels lower than 23:00m. A pottery assemblage similar to certain vessels from Royal Tombs I-III at Byblos<sup>15</sup> was found in an oval pit built in the south-west corner of the courtyard. This pit definitely belongs to the succeeding temple (ECII) because its surface appears in the courtyard of the latter (see plans in fig. 11). From the third stage of the temple (ECIII), only column bases and jar deposits are preserved. Pottery characteristic of JI-JII periods was found in temple ECI (19199). Also the stratigraphical sequence of this temple which is the same as the rest of the sacred blgs at Byblos (i.e. a destruction followed by a temple with a new layout, after which a break appears, followed by another temple contemporary with the Middle Kingdom), leads one to conclude that ECI temple may be ascribed to the JI-JII epoch. Most of the jar deposits from this temple must be late in date because they overlies a temple dated by its pottery to Abishemu and Yapishemu-abi contemporaries of Ammenemes III and IV<sup>16</sup> (see fig. 11 and 12b). About 0:40m above the floor of the Champ des Offrandes temple, the lowest laid jar deposits start to appear. These deposits definitely belong

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14 FB II2, p. 899.

15 Especially no. 18028 bis and 18654. Cf. with BE, no. 800 and Pl. CXVIII; O. Tufnell, in BERYTUS, vol. XVIII (1969) fig. 4, nos. 33-42 and 44-45.

16 See footnote 21 in Area I, fig. 7.

to a later period than JII because they are associated with walls which appear after a break separating them from the JI-JII temple (see figs. 9 and 12b).

			Table 3					134
			AREA III					
			Unit	A	B	C	D	E
			← PHASES →					
	H	II	jar deposits 7		4			
		I			3			
	J	II			2			
		I	Champ des 6 Offrandes	4	1 Enceinte Sacree			
			← GENERAL DESTRUCTION →					
	K	IV	14246 wiped out 4 → 5	3			blgs xxv xxvi	
		III	3	2 blg xxii				
		II	2 16807 16811 blg xix	1?				
		I	1					
	L							



AREA IV, III I.

Occupies the northern part of the city which was the first Area to be excavated.<sup>1</sup> Because the plans of this Area are not coloured, architectural Units could not be subject to the same conventional treatment as in other Areas of the site. In fact the only Unit where an attempt at its reconstruction was made is the Baalat-Gebal complex. This was possible because information about it is supplied in the text, and some measurements are indicated on the plans. Two other Units from this Area are illustrated on figs. 14-15 as they are shown on the original plans of the excavator, and in conjunction with the objects which were found within the grid rectangles they occupy.<sup>2</sup>

Unit A: The Baalat-Gebal Complex. (figs. 13-13a and PLX).

Before discussing this temple's complex, it is pertinent here to state that these blgs were subject to great disturbances. Aside from erosion,<sup>3</sup> dilapidation and robbing of walls, massive foundations

- 1 The result of the excavation of this Area was published first by Montet in BE, text and plates (1928), then by Dunand in FB, vol. I, text and plates (1939). See Introduction, section 3 on publications.
- 2 The original plans of this Area which were published by Dunand, have rectangular grids and a different scale from the coloured plans. In this study, the earlier plans were set to the same scale as the coloured ones and similarly a grid of sqs. was overlaid. Thus it became possible to incorporate both publications on the same plan (see plans I and II). However, in discussing this complex, reference will be made to the original publication so as to avoid confusion.
- 3 All blgs on the western side of the mound were subject to great erosion due to their proximity to the sea where strong

of Roman and Crusaders' blgs<sup>4</sup> have cut deep into these structures, causing much damage to their original plan. Also in the excavation of 1921-1924, Montet had cut a deep and wide trench which ran approximately from the north-west corner of room B to the eastern side of hall E of bâtiment II.<sup>5</sup> How deep and wide that trench is, we are not told, nor were the levels of the objects recorded. Thus one can imagine how much concrete evidence has escaped the archaeologist. However, according to a sketch in Montet's publication (PL XXXII) and plan CCV in FBI, it is possible to locate the position of the jar more accurately than is recorded by Dunand.<sup>6</sup> This jar should be marked further north and against wall 23 (plan D) for it is specifically stated<sup>7</sup> that it was found standing against a foundation wall beneath the pavement, and not far from the grandes dalles<sup>8</sup> which partially overlie wall 23. The distance between these grandes dalles and the jar is less than a metre;<sup>9</sup> its correct

winds and humidity affected the remains to a great extent.

4 See plans CCVI-CCVII in FBI, and p. 205.

5 Ibid., pp. 79-80. The word bâtiment will be used all through in connection with these blgs so as to differentiate them from the blgs that have similar numbers in this study.

6 Ibid., plan CCVI.

7 Montet, BE, p. 11.

8 These are called emmarchement by Dunand, see FBI, fig. 46, and pp. 64-65, 82; BMB, V (1941), fig. 2, p. 63.

9 Montet, op.cit., pl. XXXII.

location is given on plan D and pl. XI 1 of this work. Its exact level is still and will remain a surmise. But because this is the only jar which is recorded as being found, with many other objects, above a layer of ashes and sand,<sup>10</sup> it may be concluded that this jar was found at a lower level than the rest of the jars b, c and d, found in the same hall.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Dunand states that the Montet jar was found environ 0.40m a l'ouest du mur de fondation transversale;<sup>12</sup> incidentally, this wall is preserved to a maximum elevation of 25:10m only.<sup>13</sup>

Dunand's analysis of the Temple's Complex: In his treatment of this architectural complex, Dunand distinguishes three different blgs which he labels as bâtiments<sup>14</sup> XL, II and XVIII. He considers blg XL as the earliest of the three and dates it vaguely to a period sometime before the reign of Khasekhemwy,<sup>15</sup> the last king of the second Egyptian dynasty. He then divides bâtiment II into two periods.

premier état: the earlier, dates from before the time of Khasekhemwy to the end of the Old Kingdom. 16

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10 Ibid., pp. 47, 61-62.

11 Dunand, op.cit., plan CCVI.

12 Ibid., p. 82.

13 Ibid., p. 204.

14 Ibid., pp. 290-308.

15 Ibid., pp. 296-304.

16 Ibid., p. 304.



deuxième état: contemporary with the XIIth dynasty of Egypt, for he dates the jars that were found beneath its 17 floors to the time of Ammenemes III.

As for bâtiment XVIII, the excavator thinks that it was annexed soon enough to bâtiment II (premier état) and probably before the beginning of the IIIrd dynasty.<sup>18</sup>

Later, it will be seen that there are many contradictions in Dunand's sequence dating of this temple. Criticisms of his propositions and the results arrived at after study of this complex, will be summarised at the end following a detailed analysis<sup>19</sup> of the different phases of this complex.

Phase 1: the earliest occupation levels below the temple's complex are jar burials. These are tombs 35, 44, 36, 52 and 26. (secs. AA, BB). The pottery and metal-work they contain will be briefly described below.<sup>20</sup>

17 Dunand, op.cit., p. 157.

18 Ibid., p. 304.

19 So far only two attempts at studying the architectural complex of this temple have been made. The first was by Braidwood, in AJSL (1941), pp. 254-258, in which he presents a short lucid account of the given data of the complex. Most of his conclusions, however, are contradicted in this study. The second attempt was made by C. Shaeffer in his SC, pp. 51-61, where he gives a general treatment of the whole northern Area. His constructed section, Pl. XVIII, is extremely schematic and incorrect.

20 Other tombs existed and are marked on the plans but none of their contents is illustrated. See the concluding remarks about these jars in the summary sequence to this Area under period L.

Tomb 35

5636: a globular pot resting on a pedestal base which is broken; wide neck with straight sides; it is decorated by a pattern of circles stamped by a reed.

5636 bis: a pair of silver earrings.

Tomb 36

5639: A deep bowl with flat base and curved-in rim.  
Level: 21:00-20:80m.

Tomb 44

5751: A carinate bowl with an in-turned rim and rounded base.  
Level: 20:80-20:60m.

Tomb 52

5892: An elongated jar with two handles placed on lower part of the body; a flap is removed on one side for the purpose of interring the body of a child.  
h.O.68.  
Level: 20:80-20:60m.

Tomb 26

5499: a juglet with a squat body, flat base, high neck and a handle from below rim to shoulder. It has a yellowish burnished slip.  
h.O.108.  
Level: 21:20-21:00m.

Phase 2: the earliest level of any occupational features that appear above the jar burials are two stone lumps set in the corners of room C;<sup>21</sup> their levels are given as 21:58m and 21:30m.<sup>22</sup> It is not possible to tell whether these are the actual tops of pillar supports or merely part of their substructure.<sup>23</sup> It is recorded also that

21 The original lettering of Dunand is preserved so as to avoid confusion. This is why walls of this Unit have been given numbers instead of letters as is the case in the rest of the Units.

22 See FB I, pp. 300-301. These stone lumps do not appear on the published plans, but are reproduced by Dunand in his reconstruction of this complex, see ibid., fig. 248.

23 In some cases, the substructure of pillar supports can be 1:00m thick or more, as is the case in bâtiment XL: see FB I, p. 295.

bowl 5361<sup>24</sup> was found in room B at a level between 21:80-21:60m.<sup>25</sup> However, according to Dunand, the bases of the walls of bâtiment XVIII appear between leveés XXVII-XXX (i.e. 22:60-22:00m) except the southern wall of court A (wall 2a on fig. 13) the base of which is at 21:35m, and part of the base of the western wall (marked 1 on fig. 13) which is at 21:78m.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, such data contradict the picture that emerges on plan CCIX (FB I), which represents levels between 22:00-19:60m. The walls of bâtiment XVIII are all recorded on this plan except the transverse wall which separates rooms B and C, and the western wall which appears to have been overlaid by the basal wall of bâtiment II (see FB I, plan CCIX) of a much later period. It is possible that in the early stages of this temple the area enclosing rooms B and C may have constituted a single oblong room without a partition. Moreover, it clearly appears on plan CCIX that court A and the oblong room could not have been built contemporaneously because the walls are not bonded (plan A). Taking the evidence of the stone lumps which presumably formed substructures for pillar supports, the floor level of the oblong room would be much lower than the floor of court A. Even if we consider these lumps as parts of the substructure and add 1:00m to their depth, their top levels would not be higher than

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24 This bowl is almost identical in shape to a few bowls of deposit 5390-5416 which was found in bâtiment XVIII (see fig. 14).

25 op.cit., p. 366.

26 Ibid., p. 362.



22:30/50m, which is still considerably lower than the lowest floor of court A which is  $\pm$  23:40m (secs. AA, BB). The oblong room therefore should be earlier than court A.

Objects:

5361: a hemispherical bowl with a rounded and slightly convex base. It has an outrolled rim and is decorated with cross-hatching inside. It was found in room B.  
h.O.081.  
Level: 21:80-21:60m.

Phase 3: The second definite architectural features appear in court A. These are stone bases set along the sides of the court. The given levels of some of these are:<sup>27</sup> 23:47m, 23:49m, 23:67m, 23:72m and 23:81m. Most likely this variation in height indicates two levels of occupation and, accordingly, two floor levels can be plotted (sec. AA); the first  $\pm$  23:40m while the second could be  $\pm$  23:70m. Soon this blg was subject to a great fire; a layer of ashes 0.40m thick is said<sup>28</sup> to have existed between 24:20-24:00m and 23:80-23:60m. But, more important, it is recorded that this layer of destruction seems to have been confined to the eastern parts of rectangles 43-46 and 19-21<sup>29</sup> (i.e. the part occupied by bâtiment XVIII). This stratigraphical datum alone is enough to prove that bâtiment XVIII is not contemporary with bâtiment II. But Dunand then contradicts himself and insists that both blgs

27 Ibid., fig. 249, p. 305.

28 Ibid., p. 280.

29 loc. cit.

are contemporary and that both were subject to the same fire. The evidence he relies on is the existence of a layer of ashes 0.30m thick between levels 26:40-27:00m above the floor of hall <sup>30</sup>E (bâtiment II). In other words, he is assuming the contemporaneity of both fires, despite the fact that a difference of almost 3:00m exists between the two floor levels, with no remains or the slightest indication of a connecting stairway between the two blgs. Besides, the pottery that was found within the precincts of bâtiment XVIII is definitely earlier than any pottery items that were found in the other two blgs (see fig. 13 for the various objects that were found in each of these blgs). The only objects found in bâtiment II which are contemporary with those from bâtiment XVIII are fragments of Egyptian Old Kingdom alabasters. It should be noted here that it is rather dangerous to rely solely on the evidence of inscribed alabaster vases (especially when these are in a disturbed context as this complex is) for dating a temple. These are precious objects and therefore will be salvaged from levels of destruction and re-used again in later phases. This is best illustrated in the inventory of objects found by Montet above a layer of ashes.<sup>31</sup> The majority of the alabaster finds are inscribed with the names of Old Kingdom kings, whereas not one single pottery item could, on stylistic grounds, be definitely ascribed to periods

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30 Ibid., pp. 304-306.

31 See BE, pp. 62-83, PL. XXXIX and XLVII-XLIX.

KIII/KIV which are contemporary with the Old Kingdom; see chap.

II and IV. At Byblos, alabaster fragments with the names of Khasekhemwy and other Egyptian Early Dynastic kings were found on the surface (cf. table 8).

Moreover, the plan of bâtiment II displays a monumental character by the sheer thickness of its walls and the imposing stairway which leads to it (Pl. XVII and Plan D). Thus it would be astonishing to think that access to it is restricted to the small narrow passages e, d and c of bâtiment XVIII as a result of its annexation against the eastern wall of bâtiment II. It should be mentioned in this context that Dunand often speaks in terms of the western wall of bâtiment XVIII and the eastern wall of bâtiment II.<sup>32</sup> This in fact contradicts his theory of a close connection because, if that theory is tenable, then these two blgs would share the same wall. Finally, it would be interesting to follow the development and changes that took place within court A following the construction of each additional Unit to this complex. The following objects were found below the floor levels of phase 3. Objects which were found above or at an approximate level to the floor of the last occupational layer and are not touched by the fire which ravaged the temple of phase 3, are listed under phase 4.

Objects:

5072	two red burnished sherds onto which were rolled two cylinder seals with <u>tête-bêche</u> animal pairs. These were found in court A.
5073	
Level: 23:20-23:00m.	



- 5045 a globular pot in blackish clay with a wide mouth and small handle from rim to shoulder.  
No measurements are given.
- 4975 two yellowish vertically burnished jugs with elongated  
4976 bodies and short stump bases; these were found in room B.  
h. 0.199, 0.14; m.d. of 4975 is 0.052.  
Level: 23:40-23:20m.

Phase 4: Dunand argues for the existence of a phase which he calls Première Installation Urbaine Primordiale,<sup>33</sup> which underlies everything else at Byblos except the énéolithique burials.

This phase, he adds, exists below the temple complex and is represented by the stone bases<sup>34</sup> which appear in hall E. The levels of these bases range from 24:00-24:65m.<sup>35</sup> Next, he argues for a phase primitif of bâtiment II, the floor level of which is 23:80m, i.e. at a level lower than his Installation Primordiale, which is supposed to be the earliest level. The evidence Dunand uses for this strange conclusion is the existence of a patch of cinders (see Plan C) in the eastern part of hall E at level 23:80m.<sup>36</sup>

Most astonishing of all, he then tries to equate this early level with rooms B', C' and D' of bâtiment II, despite the fact that there is a difference of about three metres in floor levels (see p. 142, note 30).

33 FBI, p. 290.

34 loc.cit.

35 Ibid., pp. 300-301.

36 Ibid., p. 297. Why this patch of cinders cannot belong to his Installation Primordiale, for example, he does not explain.

In fact the first <sup>e</sup>big activity after the destruction of bâtiment XVIII could very well be rooms G', H', I', J' and porch K'. These rooms are out of line with the rest of the complex and reveal distinctive and innovating features in their masonry. The stone laying of the walls imitates brick-bonding,<sup>37</sup> (Pl. XVIII:1), a technique which is not used either in earlier or later blgs at Byblos. Moreover it is evident that later blgs (XL and II) have cut into these walls (Pl. X) which otherwise should have extended further north enclosing the symmetrical and transverse bases discussed above. Probably, these bases served a hypostyle hall since their arrangement differs from the Byblite tradition where stone bases are placed right against the foot of the wall or in the middle of the room (Pl. XXXIV), and not removed slightly away from the wall as these bases suggest (see Pl. XII for a hypothetical reconstruction of this hall). Finally, this architectural phase is definitely later than bâtiment XVIII since it was not touched by the fire which ravaged the latter at the end of phase 3. It is also earlier than bâtiment XL because the wall of hall J'' of the latter cuts across these stone bases and is out of line with rooms G', H', I', J'. (Pl. X). The floor level of this phase is plotted at  $\pm 24:50m$  according to the given levels of the stone bases. (sec. AA).

Most probably bâtiment XVIII was rebuilt on the same lines (see isometric projection in FBI, Atlas, Pl. CCX). Court A possibly

has been reduced to an open forecourt since no architectural occupational features such as stone bases, which were very characteristic of it in the previous phase, appear now. Room C at this stage opens to the outside and is probably used as a magazine or store room.

The following objects probably belong to this phase as their levels imply. Most of these objects reflect new cultural profiles which have not been encountered earlier on the site. In this respect they complement the architectural innovations displayed in the architecture of this phase.

Objects:

- 4504      a lapis lazuli cylinder seal, very badly preserved. It belongs to the so-called banquet scenes cylinder seals of Mesopotamian origin. It was found in the south-west corner of court A.  
h. 0.04; d. 0.024.
- 4371      a flat elongated ?bronze axe with a splayed cutting edge and perforated butt. Engraved on one side is the head of a stag. It was found in room B.  
l. 0.18.
- 4374      a ?bronze axe with a rounded perforated butt and convex sides. The head of a stag is engraved on one side.  
l. 0.152.
- 4375      a heavy ?bronze axe with a perforated square butt and slightly splaying sides. Engraved on one side is the head of a stag. It was found in room C.  
l. 0.152.  
Level: 23:80-23:60m.
- 4153      a flat elongated ?bronze axe with a perforated butt and splaying edge.  
l. 0.128; th. 0.016.
- 4154      an identical ?bronze axe, not illustrated.  
l. 0.135.



4155 a ?bronze axe, similar to the above; very badly preserved.  
 l. O.104.  
 Level: 24-00-23:80m.

Nos. 4153 - 4155 were found in the north-west corner of room C.

3890 a flat elongated bronze axe with a perforated butt and splaying edge. Engraved on one side is the right profile of a stag.  
 l. O.145.

3891 a bronze axe similar to the above, large perforated butt; almost straight sides; edge slightly splaying. Engraved on one side is the left profile of a stag.  
 l. O.181.

The above two axes were found in room B.

3902 a small dark red vase; handle which should be from rim to shoulder is broken; it has a broad body with wide neck and rolled rim, slightly concave at lower part; handmade and badly fired; it was found in room C.  
 h. O.073; m.d. O.05.

The following numbers 3894 - 3901 were found inside the above vase.

3894 - ?bronze rings; a few have circular sections, others  
 3901 are flattened and rolled spirally. Also a pair of earrings are made of a single flattened loop which widens at the edge.  
 d. from O.011 - O.018.  
 Level: 24:20-24:00m.

Phase 5: it seems that Phase 4 was of short duration, because there is no indication of superimposed occupational features such as stone bases, pavements, etc. Besides, the difference of floor levels between the hypostyle hall temple of phase 4 and that of batiment XL, which represents a succeeding phase, is not very great. It is unfortunate that batiment XL does not feature on the plans of the area and therefore one has to rely to a great extent on

the excavator's restoration of its layout. However, in this study, the reconstructed plan of bâtiment XL differs from Dunand's reproduction which in the opinion of the present writer is not correct. The present restoration shows that the western wall of bâtiment XL extends southwards on a straight line reaching the corner of room G' of phase 4. The superimposed wall 7 of bâtiment II is recessed in the middle (plan D) i.e. set off from the edge of the underlying wall 7a of bâtiment XL, showing that the latter forms a continuous line as was suggested above (see FBI, Pl. x:2 ). This wall later served as foundation to part of the western wall of bâtiment II, phase 6. Bâtiment XL (plan C) consists of several units. To the north, a big complex comprising several oblong and irregularly shaped rooms exists. The rooms farthest to the north G" , H" and I" form a part of a huge complex which extends still further north to below the Corinthian columns<sup>38</sup> (Plan I). These rooms have a separate entrance on the western side and their floor levels can be plotted  $\pm$  26:30m according to the level of the stone bases set along the walls. The adjacent southern rooms, A" , B" , C" , D" , E" and F" , constitute another architectural Unit which is very similar to the former. This Unit was apparently built on a lower terrace since the levels of its floors range from  $\pm$  24:50-25:00m according to the levels of the stone bases which appear in every room. Both blgs have large squarish stone bases with sub-structures about 1:00m thick.<sup>39</sup> Hall J" communicates with the southern complex by means of four steps set in hall A". The floor of the latter room is at least 0:50m lower than the floors

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38. FB I, p. 294.

39. Ibid., p. 295.

of the rest of the rooms. It is recorded that the southern wall of hall J" partially encloses the hall;<sup>40</sup> in other words, the hall must have been widely open to the south. Such an arrangement is in keeping with the layout of the preceding phase 4.

No occupational features such as stone bases seem to exist in hall J". Can this be an indication of a roofless sanctuary? However, the floor of hall J" is probably  $\pm$  25:16m as can be inferred from the level of the highest step of the staircase, mentioned above, connecting halls J" and A". Halls G", H", I", J" and K" of the hypostyle temple are probably still in use since they feature on all the plans.<sup>41</sup>

Probably it is at this stage that walls (5 and 6) with engaged piers were built. Their attribution to this phase is a surmise, but it is a very probable one since their position in regard to the hypostyle hall would have been very awkward and would have served no purpose. Besides, their masonry is so completely different from the hypostyle temple that it is most unlikely they could have been built contemporaneously with it. Moreover, because the temple of this phase has developed into a huge complex consisting of several residential units built probably as lodgings for the high priests, who also may have been responsible for the treasury of the temple, better security was necessary and therefore a double gateway was built (see hypothetical reconstruction of this phase, Pl. XIII-XV). Certain features in the architectural remains seem to suggest that a second floor may have existed.

These

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40. Ibid., p. 290.

41. Ibid., Plans CCVII-CCVI.



features consist of two stone slabs engaged to the southern wall of hall A''; they appear at levels 26:25m and 26:39m,<sup>42</sup> i.e.

about 2:00m above the level of hall A''. Probably these are the remains of a pavement to a possible upper floor. In this case hall A'' would have served as a crypt.

Finally, a guard room (?) marked D' stands at the southern end of this complex.

#### Objects:

- 4104 a juglet with a broad body tapering to a narrow almost rounded base; high neck with a marked shoulder and handle from rim to shoulder. It is covered with a red ochre slip which is vertically burnished.  
h. 0.13; m.d. 0.055.
- 4105 a big globular pot with a rolled rim; small handle slightly rising above rim to shoulder. Common red clay.  
h. 0.084; m.d. 0.10.
- 4106 a juglet with an exaggeratedly long wide neck and slightly flaring rim; constriction below neck and handle from rim to shoulder; very tall narrow stump base; common reddish clay covered with a red ochre slip and vertically burnished.  
h. 0.133.
- 4107 a juglet similar to 4104 but has a more elongated body; handle is broken; light clay covered with a red ochre slip; cross hatched decoration.  
h. 0.156.
- 4108 a yellowish juglet without slip and burnishing; broad body rather broad neck and splaying rim; it has a flat base and a loop handle from rim to shoulder.  
h. 0.155.

- 4109 a juglet covered with a creamy burnished slip;  
it has a pointed base and a circular handle from  
rim to shoulder.  
h. 0.09; m.d. 0.048.

Nos. 4104 - 4109 were found grouped together in the south-west corner of court A (bâtiment XVIII)<sup>43</sup>. Two fragments of alabaster vases, bearing the prenomen of Unas and Nyuserre of the fifth Egyptian dynasty, were found near them. The approximate altitude of the above deposit is not given in an 0.20m range as usual, because these were found in the course of demolishing the walls between 26:00-24:00m. To the preceding objects the Montet alabasters, inscribed with the names of the Old Kingdom pharaohs, should be added here, since the latter form an odd assemblage among finds comprising scarabs, bronze tools, pendants and pottery which, on stylistic grounds, should post-date the period represented by the inscribed alabasters (see below under phase 6 and fig. 13). But because it is recorded by the excavator that these alabasters were found mixed with the rest of the objects, the only plausible interpretation would be to consider these alabasters as heirlooms re-used in the succeeding phase 6.

#### Objects:

- 45 fragment of light grey bowl spotted with black,  
inscribed with the name of Nyserinus.
- 46 an alabaster vase inscribed with the name of Unas.  
It has a rounded base with bulging sides in the lower  
part narrowing gradually upwards towards the mouth  
which has an everted rim.  
h. 0.05.

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43 op.cit. pp. 200, 206-207 and fig. 13, sec. AA.

- 47,  
48 fragments of two vases bearing the prenomen of Phiops I.
- 49,  
50 fragments of two alabaster disks with the cartouche of Phiops I. In the cartouche of fragment No. 50, the epithet son of Hathor, the Lady of Denedereh, is inscribed.
- 56 -  
61 vases of alabaster and diorite in the shape of a monkey with young; one of them is inscribed with the name of Phiops II.
- 62 a red burnished small statue of clay in the form of a monkey with young inscribed with the name of Phiops II.
- 65 -  
72 four complete and other fragments of cylindrical alabaster vases.
- 123 a pink stone vase in the form of a cube. On each of the four sides is engraved what appears to be the facade of a blg. The photograph is not very clear but it seems that the facade is composed of a cornice with vertical elements which could be either the kheker ornament or more possibly uraei with solar disks, because the top of the cornice appears to be wavy. The cornice surmounts a frieze with lozenges pattern, more possibly lentils, because the frieze appears to be interrupted in the middle. Below the lentils are two panels with lozenges pattern; these could represent two doors or probably decorated panels surrounding the door which is in the middle. On either side of the facade are two projecting bastions (?) which run through the whole elevation of the facade (see PL.IX 2)<sup>44</sup>

All these have been tarnished by the fire which is stated to have existed along the foundational walls.<sup>45</sup> It is not possible to tell which walls the excavator is explicitly referring to; it is obvious that these walls could not have been foundational, since fire cannot

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44 Ibid., Montet suggests that this vase represents a Syrian house, but in fact it is more likely to be a representation of the Egyptian palace motif, cf. A. Badawy, Le Dessin Architectural, figs. 71-74 and pp. 67-73.

45 Montet, BE, p. 61.



reach the foundations. But most probably these are the extant remains of this phase which was completely destroyed, and above the ruins a new temple was built.

Phases 6 and 7: it seems the temple of phase 5 has ended in a great destruction. Dunand remarks, 'elle était déjà en ruine quand furent construits les plus anciennes parties du bâtiment II'.<sup>46</sup>

In fact a totally new architectural concept is explicitly seen in the extant remains of bâtiment II (Pl. X and XVII). This blg consists of a twin sanctuary of the long room type. Sanctuary B<sup>"</sup> has a tripartite arrangement, while sanctuary E<sup>"</sup> may have been partitioned by a wooden screen (Plan D and Pl. XIX, 1). The halls open fully to the east and are joined by a narrow corridor A.<sup>"</sup> The ends of the long side walls form antae which enclose two porticos or liwans. Such an arrangement is clearly seen on plan CCVIII (FB I, atlas) where the eastern ends of the long walls form straight sides at the corners and are not bonded to other walls. Wall 17 in this case (fig. 13, sec. BB) is perhaps just a low wall forming an edge to the portico.

All the subsidiary rooms and complex Units of the earlier phase are now out of use. Walls 11, 13, 15, 23, 24 and 25 of bâtiment II overlie walls 10, 12, 14, 16, 20 and 21 of bâtiment XL (Pl. X and plans C, D). Also wall 22 of bâtiment II cuts across the subsidiary rooms of the Hypostyle temple which was still in use during phase 5 (PL. XIII-XVI). The western wall 7 of hall E<sup>"</sup> rests on an earlier

wall 7a of phase 5 (sec. AA, Pl. XVIII: 1-2) whereas wall 11 of hall B<sup>'''</sup> cuts through earlier levels reaching bed-rock at 25:00m<sup>47</sup> (sec. BB). This rocky surface (level 25:00m) served as the floor of room C<sup>''</sup> of bâtiment XL.<sup>48</sup> One occupational and two important structural features give a clue to the floor levels of these two sanctuaries E<sup>''</sup> and B<sup>'''</sup>. It is reported that a layer of ashes,<sup>49</sup> between 26:40-27:00m, covered the floors of the Old Kingdom temple, giving us a minimum estimate of  $\pm$  26:40m for the floors of the temple at the time it was burnt. Beneath sanctuary B<sup>'''</sup>, the walls of bâtiment XL are preserved to level 26:67m,<sup>50</sup> showing that the floor of that sanctuary could not be lower than 26:70m. On the other hand, the foundation of wall 7 of sanctuary E<sup>'</sup>, represented by wall 7a of phase 5, is very thick and projects inside forming a ledge that levels with the floor of this phase. The top of this ledge does not rise above 26:00m as it is not indicated on the plans above that level (cf. FBI plans CCVII and CCVI). Moreover, wall 7 is represented by three stone courses only, the extant top of which is 26:61m.<sup>51</sup> Apparently the floor of that

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47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., fig. 248.

49 Ibid., pp. 304-306.

50 Ibid., fig. 248, p. 297.

51 Ibid., plan CCVI.

hall could not be higher than 26:00m. Dunand considers the foundations of walls 7 and 11 as walls of an Old Kingdom temple, whereas the upper parts of those walls represent a Middle Kingdom temple.<sup>52</sup> That Dunand's theory contradicts basic facts can be clearly proved in the following arguments:

1. It was pointed out above that walls 11, 13, 15, 17 of sanctuary B<sup>'''</sup> do not use earlier walls as their foundations, but they cut through earlier levels (sec. BB and PL. X). This situation is clearly apparent from the published photographs (FBI, Pls. VIII: 1; X: 2) where it is shown that wall 11 of sanctuary B<sup>'''</sup>, unlike wall 7 of sanctuary E<sup>'''</sup>, forms a straight even wall with no signs of rebuilding.
2. Because the walls of batiment XL underlying sanctuary B<sup>'''</sup>, are preserved to level 26:67m, the parts of walls 11, 13, 15, 17 of sanctuary B<sup>'''</sup> appearing below that level (26:67m) cannot be considered anything else but foundational. (sec. BB).
3. It was mentioned above that a layer of ashes between 26:40-27:00m covered the floors of an Old Kingdom temple. Now if wall 7 belongs to the Middle Kingdom as Dunand suggests, then the layer of ashes should belong to the latter temple since it was seen above that the base of wall 7 is around 26:00m. It will be seen later that in fact wall 7 represents an intermediary stage between the Old and Middle Kingdoms (see Summary to this Area).



4. Furthermore, we have the vital evidence of pottery. Now if the fire mentioned above happened at the end of the Old Kingdom destroying a temple contemporary with that period, one would at least expect to find certain pottery types of periods KIII/KIV, contemporary with the Old Kingdom (see chap. IVA), reported from either below this layer of ashes or to have been burnt by this fire. But all the pottery which can be related to batiment II are of periods JI/JII (see below and fig. 13). Also from Montet's trench not a single vessel of KIII/KIV types is reported from beneath, within or above his layer of ashes (see ibid.). Moreover, a shaft-hole axe of Amuq J<sup>53</sup> type was found at the same level as the base of wall 17 of batiment II (sec. BB). This axe presumably was laid as a foundation deposit since it is too valuable to have been allowed to slip down without being noticed by the builders for example.
5. Finally, this temple marks a radical change and a total break with earlier traditions. It essentially represents the same architectural concept as temples XIV (Pl. III:1 V), the megaron XVII (Pl. XXVI: 10) and the Chapelle Orientale, phases 4/5 (fig. 19 and Pl. XXIII: 1-2).

New structural features appear also in this temple: These are cross walls 8-8a and 9a-9b (plan D). These walls may have been built for

the purpose of raising the floor levels since they belong to those parts of the temple which are lower than sanctuary B.<sup>'''</sup> Sanctuary E<sup>'''</sup> is lower than the latter because of the natural southward tilt of the mound. Cross walls 9a-9b belong to a squarish structure which had probably constituted the substructure of a terrace leading to the temple (Pl. XVII). The northern end of a grand staircase abutts against this squarish structure. Both the latter and the staircase are built on alluvial soil. That the staircase belongs to this temple, bâtiment II, can be deduced from its reconstructed elevation which would make it higher than the floors of earlier temples. On plan CCVIII (FBI), only half the steps are preserved. The last but four steps of the extant staircase is at level 24:00m. From that step to the squarish structure, about fifteen steps are required to fill in the space judging by the width of the extant steps. Also, according to the gradual rise in elevation of these steps, a minimum of 0:10-0:12m is allotted to each step. This would add 1:80m of elevation bringing the last step to about 25:80m. With the restoration of a terrace floor, the level would easily reach over 26:00m. Furthermore, it is recorded<sup>54</sup> that after the double gateway (attributed here to phase 5) had been built and used for some time, the passages between the piers were blocked. This blocking is most likely to have had taken place during this phase because piers 5b-6b appear to have formed a substructure for wall 9b of bâtiment II (FBI fig. 249). Dunand remarks that no fire remains

were discernible in rooms B<sup>'''</sup>, C<sup>'''</sup>, D<sup>'''</sup> and F<sup>'''</sup> because, he argues, wood probably was not used extensively in their construction.<sup>55</sup> Such a deduction is too naive to be accepted, and obviously it must be the result of confused stratigraphy, as part of what Dunand designates bâtiment II deuxième état<sup>56</sup> belongs in fact to the succeeding phase 8, from which very scrappy architectural remains are preserved. But what confounds Dunand's remark is the fact that some of the objects published by Montet as dépôts de fondation,<sup>57</sup> were found in sanctuary B<sup>'''</sup>, above and amid a layer of ashes sealed by another layer of sand, and not wholly in room E<sup>'''</sup> as Dunand claims.<sup>58</sup> This can be proved by superimposing the architectural elements and find spots that appear in Montet's sketch (BE PL. XXXII) above the remains of bâtiment II, whereby it is seen that the objects listed between the two stone bases on Montet's sketch, fit happily in the southern end of sanctuary B (see PL. XI: 1). Finally, it should be noted that bâtiment II shows signs of rebuilding which may represent two phases. This is deduced from the fact that the walls of sanctuary E<sup>'''</sup> are not bonded to wall 23 of hall A<sup>'''</sup> (plan D), whereas the walls of the latter are bonded to sanctuary B<sup>'''</sup>. Probably sanctuary E<sup>'''</sup> was built before B<sup>'''</sup>, since the position of hall A<sup>'''</sup> in respect to sanctuary B<sup>'''</sup>, as a pre-planned unit, is rather odd and architecturally unacceptable.

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55 Ibid., p. 306.

56 Ibid., pp. 80-81, 204.

57 BE, pp. 61-109 and PL. XXXII.

58 Op.cit., p. 304, note 1.



However, the important thing is that these two halls were at one point used contemporaneously. Their relationship, symmetry and type of construction suggest that these two halls should be considered as the product of a single homogenous culture and must have been built at very close intervals.

Other important aspects of these two phases are the deep foundations as a result of which later objects found their way to much deeper levels. Probably foundation deposits were practised during these two phases as can be inferred from the locus of the shaft-hole axe 5170 (see sec. BB). It seems also that pottery was stored in deep storage pits as can be deduced from the deposit of amphorae nos. 4552-4908.

Objects: First, the objects that were recorded by Dunand will be listed below; then the Montet finds will follow. One striking thing about the Montet finds is the scarcity of pottery. Perhaps in his early campaigns, flushed with excitement over the rich finds, the excavator tended to neglect inferior items, such as pottery. This is seen from the cursory description accorded to the pottery listed in his publication Byblos et l'Egypte.

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Because these levels are extremely disturbed and many intrusive elements are likely to have existed, therefore only the objects cited within proper loci are listed below (this obviously applies only to Dunand's catalogue since no references whatsoever are given in Montet's catalogue). The alabasters recorded by Dunand are omitted here because they appear with the rest of the stone vessels on a separate chart, table 8.

5170

a shaft-hole axe with shallow grooves in the shaft whose upper part is cut away, raising the level of the blade above the socket. The latter is oval in section. This axe was found at the same level as the base of the foundation walls 15 and 17 of this phase (cf. sec. BB). Probably it was laid at this level as a foundation deposit. Similar axes were reported from Amuq J and Til-Barsib hypogeum. The appearance of this axe at Byblos is of extreme interest because it corroborates the chronology of this complex based on the stratigraphical sequence developed in this study. This will be dealt with fully in part II.

l. 0.14; w. of cutting edge 0.027.

Level: 22:80-22:60m.

4552 -  
4908

this deposit consists of thirty theriomorphic vases, twenty in the shape of animals and ten in the shape of birds. Four hundred and sixteen small two handled juglets grouped together. These have curved bodies, high necks with flaring rims, sometimes outrolled, and big circular handles on mid-body. They are made of well-levigated and well-fired red ochre clay. The surface is combed first and then a thick creamy slip is laid on. In some cases the combed decoration is almost obliterated by the slip. Above the creamy slip, crossing bands of red paint are applied. Few of these amphorae do not have a creamy slip and the red paint is directly applied onto the clay. Several ostrich eggs were found mixed with the pottery vessels. Dunand here gives the absolute level of the find-spot of this deposit and neglects to give the level at which the storage pit, which houses this deposit, was carved. That this deposit is not as early as its level implies is almost certain because the excavator explicitly states in FBI, p. 236, that this pottery was found below a layer of beaten earth which constitutes the floor of room C. Room C" of bâtiment XL, phase 5, is naturally eliminated because it was founded on bedrock, the surface of which is about 25:00m, much higher than the level of the pottery deposit. Also it is improbable that this pit could have been carved in room C of bâtiment XVIII, because the layer of ashes which covered the floor of the latter is reported to have been found undisturbed (see supra, analysis of phase 3). Thus it is most likely that this pit was carved in room C" of bâtiment II. It is also possible that these amphorae were laid as foundation offerings. PL. LXXIV in FBI (top) where this deposit is shown in situ, suggests the idea of a deep pit,



probably vaulted also, because the wall on the right side appears to be inclined. Identical wares appear all over the site in contexts which seem to be contemporary with phases 6 and 7 (cf. infra part II where this problem is dealt with more fully). Thus it seems almost certain that this pottery belongs to bâtiment II.

h. of juglets...: from 0.08 - 0.14.

Level: 23:60-23:40m.

- 3360 an elegant silver head of a stag with a very long neck which is hollowed; eyes are circular and worked in relief. It was found in the north-east corner of room B.
- 3283 a small hemispherical cup in black stone dotted with white spots (probably liparite ?). The handle is in the form of a knob.  
h. 0.020; d. 0.032.
- 3284 a carnelian pendant representing a recumbent lion.  
l. 0.029; th. 0.006.
- 3285 a pendant similar to the above.  
l. 0.03.
- 3286 a carnelian pendant.  
l. 0.018; th. 0.009.
- 3287 An ibex cut from a gold sheet. Two holes for suspension are perforated in his body.  
l. 0.35; h. 0.037; th. 0.0015.
- 3288 a gold cylindrical bead. Not illustrated.  
d. 0.007.  
Level: 25:60-25:40m.

The above amulets nos. 3284 - 3288 were found grouped together about 4:00m to the north of passage r. It seems they constituted a small deposit.

- 3639 a globular pot in coarse blackish clay, well fired. It has a light brick slip. The upper part is decorated with red crossing lines, while the rim inside out is decorated with oblique strokes of red paint.  
h. 0.177; m.d. 0.27.  
Level: 24:80-24:60m.



This pot was found standing against a wall about 0:80m north of room B of bâtiment XVIII, half filled with olive seeds. The low level of this pot does not imply an early chronological context; it merely indicates the varied depth of the terrain of Byblos. It is listed here because its shape and technique of painting is characteristic of post destruction levels.

The finds recorded by Montet form a long list of objects (see BE, Pls. XXIX-LIX, pp. 62-109) which definitely come from contaminated levels and belong to more than one period. In this context only a few items are described below. These are selected either because they are similar to objects found in contemporary contexts on the site, or because they can be related to stratified finds from other sites.

44: a ? bronze stamp seal decorated with a labyrinth pattern.<sup>60</sup>

122 a fragment of a four spouted alabaster lamp.<sup>61</sup>

#### Human figurines

Nos. 139 - 169 constitute bronze, ivory and limestone figurines.

Only one will be described below.

147<sup>62</sup> a golden bronze figurine of a child seated on a base

60. Similar seals are found in Crete dated to EMIII, see A. Evans, PM I, fig. 90: a-b, p. 121, fig. 260, a-g, p. 359.

61. The four spouted lamps are found in period KIII (cf. fig. 14 and Summary of Area IV), KIV (cf. fig. 5 and Summary of Area I). Also during JI/JII (cf. fig. 7b, bottom).

62. See O. Tufnell and W.A. Ward in SYRIA, 63 (1966) pp. 196-197, note 6, where they argue that this figurine is of Egyptian provenance and they relate it to the few figurines

which is square from the front and rounded in the back. His right arm is lifted to his mouth and his left hand is laid on his knee. On the reverse of the base, a sign (which seems to be a stylization of a human figure or, it could be, a flower) is engraved.

### Pottery

- 125 a wheel made grey jar with an elongated, flat base, short neck and outrolled rim. It has two handles on upper body and a pot mark (cross motif) on one shoulder. (This jar was used at Byblos throughout the 3rd mill. and up till the beginning of the second - see chap. II under E).  
h. 0.245.
- 126 <sup>juglet</sup>  
A two handled ~~with~~ circular handles on mid-body. It has a high neck with an outrolled rim and a disc base. It is decorated with three vertical red bands on each side. It is identical to the amphorae of deposit 4552 - 4908; see also figs. 19: 14257.  
h. 0.070.
- 130 a juglet with globular body, wide neck, flaring rim and circular handle from rim to shoulder; a small button-like base.  
h. 0.085.

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of this kind known as harpocrates. Montet, on the other hand, dismisses the idea of it being a harpocrate, let alone its Egyptian provenance, because he thinks that stylistically it differs from the Egyptian ones (BE, p. 115, no. 401). In fact it is most likely that this figurine is of Syrian, or, more specifically of Byblite, work, imitating probably the harpocrates. This is apparent in the big and rather flattened head of the figurine in contrast to the elongated heads of the Egyptian figurines and the Montet figurine no. 401. Besides, the legs are much thicker and heavier; furthermore the manner in which the hand reaches the mouth without resting on the knee, like the Egyptian figurines, looks artificial. Moreover, the overall effect is rather clumsy and its make is similar to the rest of the bronze figurines which were found in great profusion at Byblos.



131 similar to the above; body less globular, mouth is broken, a wide loop handle from rim to shoulder; very narrow disc base.

132 a juglet with an elongated body, almost cylindrical ending in a button base; the handle is broken and so is part of the rim.

The large circular handles of the above juglets are typical of post destruction vessels at Byblos.

133 several miniature conical cups, hand made. It is interesting to note that not a single miniature cup of this type was found by Dunand throughout his excavation of this complex. (See fig. 7, analysis of phase 3 and fig. 7b).  
h. from 0.04 - 0.06.

134 a vase in black polished clay with globular body and rounded base. It has a narrow neck with slightly splaying sides and flat rim. Not illustrated.

#### Ornaments and Pendants

250 a golden disc worked in repousse with a big central boss around which twelve petals are disposed.

251 - 253 three metal discs or medallions in repousse design with a central boss surrounded by three rings in relief filled in with radial lines. The rim is half a mill. inside.<sup>63</sup>

170 an ivory amulet in the shape of a bird; it has a suspension hole in the head (cf. chap. IV A, notes 26-29).

Several hundred different beads of which very few are described or illustrated. Measurements also are rarely given.

#### Tools, Weapons and Utensils

336 a fragment of a ?bronze pommel (this is the only bronze pommel recorded from Byblos).

341 a bronze pin with spherical double-heads.<sup>64</sup>

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63. For similar metal discs see E. Mackay, Kish, Pl. IV: B-10, B-21, B-23, B-32 and Pl. XLIII, burial 51.

64 A similar pin comes from Troy IIg, see R. Maxwell-Hyslop,



356 a short wand ? with a double spiral head and a swollen base.<sup>65</sup>  
L. 0.045.

363 a ? bronze chalice similar to wine glasses. (For similar chalices, but in clay, see Pl. LIII).

370 a ? bronze squarish table with four irregular legs set in small bronze sqs. at the corners.<sup>66</sup>  
h. of legs: 0.04; area of table 0.03.

Phase 8: the architectural remains of this phase are represented by the following elements (Plan D and Pl. XIX: 2).

1. walls 19, 26 and 27. - Wall 19 overlies wall 15 of phase 6 extending beyond the latter wall so as to join the new wall 26. Such an arrangement implies a change in the layout of the temple at this stage (plan D and Pl. XIX: 2).
2. two isolated patches paved with flagstones, the remains of which are found in hall <sup>"</sup>E and room <sup>"</sup>B and recorded at levels 27:60m and 27:70m respectively. These extant pavements should not be mixed up with the grandes dalles or emmarchement that were recorded conjointly with the sq. socle and the two column bases and rightly attributed by Dunand to the Persian period.<sup>67</sup>

Western Asiatic Jewellery, fig. 40b, p. 57.

65. For the various types of spiral motifs, see M.E.L. Mallowan, Iraq IX (1947) pp. 171-176.

66. Similar tables though not identical have been found in Anatolia, see T. Ozguc, Horoztepe, Pl. LIII.

67. See Dunand in BMB, V (1941) pp. 67.f, and FBI pp. 63-65. O. Tufnell and W. Ward in their joint article (see supra, note 62) fail to distinguish this intermediary level which lies below the Persian level.

These architectural elements are about 1:00m higher than the level of the two isolated patches of flagstones assigned to this phase.

3. the massif de maconnerie which encloses two jar deposits.
4. the extra-mural autel built adjacent to the western part of hall E. It is approached by a few steps built inside the latter hall. Its level, 28:05m, corresponds with the floor level of hall E bearing in mind the slight elevation bridged by the low steps.

The fact that steps were built inside hall E leading to an extra-mural open-air altar indicates that no contemporary wall could have been built on the western part of that hall. Probably, the whole blg constituted a hypaethral temple at this stage. Moreover, the existence of these steps proves that wall 7 of phases 6/7 cannot be contemporary with the architectural elements of this phase as Dunand claims, because that wall is clearly overlaid by the steps, the level of which is about 1:00m higher than the extant top of wall 7.

According to sec AA, it is apparent that the jar deposits were laid during this phase. Jars b, c and d, discovered by Dunand were found about 0.20-0.30m below the pavement of hall E occupying levels between 27:40-26:80m,<sup>6:8</sup> i.e. about 0.20m above the layer of ashes which sealed the floor of phase 7. It was stated above that the Montet jar is recorded as having been found standing against a foundation wall above the layer of ashes; obviously it must have



been laid at a slightly lower level than the rest of the jars which were found in hall E. This however, does not imply a chronological lapse between the jars because an 0.20m difference between the position of the jars is rather negligible.<sup>69</sup> The important piece of evidence gleaned from secs AA, BB, is that all the jars were found below the pavement of phase 8 and above the layer of ashes which sealed the remains of phase 7. Therefore, it can be rightly assumed that these jars are contemporary<sup>70</sup> and were laid at short intervals during the lifetime of the temple of phase 8. But, whether an appreciable chronological gap existed between the destruction of the temple of phase 7 and its

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69. Cf. fig. 7 where contemporary deposits from the Obelisk temple were laid at greatly different levels.

70. For a study of the Montet jar, see O. Tufnell and W. Ward op.cit. pp. 165-228. Miss Tufnell informed me lately that she and Dr. Ward agree now in putting the jar between the end of the 21st-22nd cen. BC. (thus a century lower than the date they allotted the jar in their joint article, see ibid., p. 227; see also the views of E. Porada in her study of the cylinder seals from the same jars in which she dated them to the 18th cen. BC., pp. 243-257). However, Miss Tufnell now believes that jar c, should be dated to the reign of Sesostriis III (1878-1843 BC) because a scarab bearing the prenomen of the latter pharaoh was found in the jar. In other words she is postulating a lapse of one century between the Montet jar and jar c, which on the evidence of the reconstructed sections seems quite unlikely. In fact, as was stated above, these jars must all be contemporary, or very close in time and the lower date is preferable.



rebuilding in phase 8 is somewhat difficult to confirm or to repudiate, though this problem is of primary significance for the precise dating of the jars. However, on analogy with other blg activities in religious architecture at Byblos, which seem to have been resumed very quickly after destruction, one would fairly conclude that a blg like this which is of primary religious significance would also be quickly rebuilt. The whole area east of the temple is now covered with irregular small rooms bounded by flimsy walls without a sense of orientation (fig. 13c). That these flimsy structures belong to phase 8 and no earlier is seen from the way these walls sprawl to the west covering part of the area previously occupied by the squarish structure of phases 6/7. This is further corroborated by pottery finds. A deposit (Pl. LXIV, LXIII: 3840) was found in an irregular structure with a curved wall, situated east of recs. 31, 32 (fig. 13c). It is reported that parts of the floors of the rooms of this structure are covered with rusty ferruginous sandstone fragments which probably were used in the manufacturing of the red paint that decorates the vessels mentioned above, which were found on the floors of these rooms. Besides, a comparative study of the material objects from this and other blgs, and especially from contemporary phases which lie directly before and after the destruction levels, would further elucidate more problems and would help to narrow the margin of error in the chronological sequence of Byblos. (These problems will be dealt with in future studies).

Objects: The point d'appui for the correlation of objects to phase 8 are the deposits and not the stray finds which could very well be intrusive. Besides, it is safer to use the objects below the floor for dating the building rather than the objects that were found above the floor, because the latter would be more subject to contamination with later finds than those which were deposited below the floors.

The following objects were found at levels below the floors of temple 8.

1748 a deposit of ninety biconical beads, forty one are carnelian, thirty seven are in white stone, four are made of crystal, seven bronze beads and one is made of silver. Not illustrated.

1749 three hollowed spherical beads made of gold.

1753 a quadruped made of bronze and badly preserved. Three other bronze animal figurines, a lion, an ibex and a wild goat nos. 1750 - 1752 are all in a bad condition as well.

1754 a bronze rosette composed of a central boss around which are radially disposed eight rounded petals.  
d. 0.027.

Nos. 1748 - 1754 were found together to the east of what used to be room D in phase 5.

1772 a dog in reddish clay dotted with white spots. (A similar fragment was found in T.P., see chap. II).  
L. 0.074; h. to shoulder 0.033.

1774 an amphora in reddish clay. Cf. with painted amphorae of periods JI/JII on the same figure 13.  
h. 0.13.

1775 a jug in light brick clay with globular body and narrow short neck with pinched mouth. The base is very narrow and flattened with red brick decoration on neck and bottom of jug; dark red horizontal lines on mid-body.  
h. 0.16; d. 0.13.

- 1776 a small bowl in pink clay with a rounded base and curved sides. Three knobs are disposed at regular intervals near the rim, one of these is slightly lower than the other two.  
h. 0.045; m.d. 0.075, d. of base 0.035.
- 1833 an amethyst head of a calf. Two knobs represent the horns. Not illustrated.  
h. 0.018
- 1851 a bird figurine covered with a reddish slip, dotted with white spots. It rests on a cylindrical stem and apparently had served as a decorative element of some object because it appears to be broken at the base of the stem.  
h. 0.04; L. 0.061; w. 0.044.  
Level: 27:20-27:00m.

The architectural remains which appear above this phase are all attributed to much later periods; notably two stone bases which were discovered by Montet and attributed by Dunand, on stylistic grounds, to the Persian period.<sup>71</sup> Also the two massive walls that appear on plan CCVII, rect. 21, 22, 24, 42, 53 and 54, are attributed to a Crusaders' building.<sup>72</sup>

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71. Montet, BE, Pl. XXXII; Dunand, FB, I, fig. 46 and 51, pp. 64-65; also BMB, V (1941) pp. 57 ff.

72. FB, I, p. 205.



Unit B (recs. 1, 10, 11 and 47, fig. 14).

The earliest occupational remains recorded on plan cote 22:00 - 19:60m from this Unit are jar burials 37, 54 and 82.

Jar 37 appears to be engaged to a flimsy curved wall no. 17, the top level of which is recorded at 20:83m. The level of the jar is given between 21:00-20:80m., i.e. approximately at the same level as wall 17.

Jar 54, the level of which is between 20:80-20:60m, is overlaid by wall 8 which belongs to a later blg. Jar 82 was found below burial 54 at a level between 20:40-20:20m.

Only one vessel from these burials is published. This is jug 5662 which was found in jar 54. To the west of these tombs, three natural caves 7, 8 and 9, were used for burials. Pottery from these caves is illustrated on Pl. XLI.

Overlying the jar burials and wall 17 a complex of seven rooms A, B, C, D, E, F, G appears. The latter could have been a courtyard. The south-west corner of room F overlies the rocky spur where the three caves mentioned above appear (bottom plan). The top of the corner of walls 6 and 9 is recorded at 22:06m. Most probably, these rooms are not all contemporary as can be deduced from their unbonded walls. But it is not possible to tell which room is earlier. However, one curious feature in the middle of four convergent walls indicates that at least rooms C, D, E, F and G are contemporary forming blg XXVIII (bottom plan). Rooms A and B could be later. In fact, they are more spacious than the rest of the rooms and appear to be

of better construction. Along wall 6 of room C, a pottery deposit 5390 - 5416 was found between 21:80-21:40m. This deposit was arranged in an interesting manner which indicates a certain ritual significance. Against the eastern part of this wall 6, two bowls, a platter and a pot were laid above a bed of fairly large pebbles. Against the centre of the wall, numerous pottery sherds were laid above a layer of ashes mixed with several fragments of carbonised wood. Near them, a big pot was placed over several small stones. Nine were river pebbles. Also a platter and five bowls were grouped together near the pot. Vessels placed against the western part of wall 6 consist of a big pot with three small bowls inside it, six other bowls arranged two by two as well as a four spouted lamp. Near these in the western corner of the room, a small pot and a big bowl with three pebbles inside were found. Above this pottery extended a layer of earth mixed with carbonised wood and crushed bones.

### Objects:

#### The Eastern Group

- 5390 a jug with a short stump base, broad body and an extremely wide and long neck with slightly flaring sides; handle from slightly above rim to shoulder; traces of diagonal burnishing on a yellow surface.  
h. 0.135.
- 5391 a big platter made of coarse clay, is badly fired. It has a convex base with slightly splaying sides. Decorated with cross hatching along the inner walls, circular lines near the rim and haphazard hatching at the bottom.  
h. 0.045; d. 0.23.
- 5392 a red well fired shallow bowl; the marks of the wheel are almost effaced by wet smoothing. Cross hatching inside.  
d. 0.11.

- 5393 a small reddish bowl; it has a flat slightly concave base, the sides are carinated and rim is everted. Cross hatching inside.  
h. 0.03; d. 0.069.

#### The Central Group

- 5394 a big spherical pot in reddish clay; it has a small handle and a rolled rim. Traces of wheel on the outside; it was found crushed. Not illustrated but similar to 5412.  
h. about 0.30.
- 5395 a reddish platter, badly fired and clay mixed with numerous limestone grits. It has a convex base with straight sides and sharp rim. Traces of cross hatching inside.  
h. 0.062; d. 0.21.
- 5396 a bowl in fine red brick clay with a flat slightly convex base, curved sides and outrolled rim. Traces of wheel outside and light burnishing; cross hatching inside.  
h. 0.077; d. 0.135.
- 5397 ) four bowls similar to the above with traces of wheel outside  
5400 ) obliterated near the rims through wet smoothing. All have flattened bases with outrolled rims. 5397 has cross hatching inside and 5398 shiny radial lines.  
h. of smallest 0.06; d. 0.115.

#### The Western Group

- 5401 a big pot identical to 5394.  
h. 0.31.
- 5402 a shallow plate with a flattened base and rounded sides which are extremely thin. A bright red slip inside converging to the outside forming a narrow band below rim. Cross hatching inside and wet smoothing outside. The clay is fine and well fired.  
h. 0.025; d. 0.122.
- 5403 a similar bowl but with a rounded base and colour of slip is red ochre.  
h. 0.028.
- 5404 a well fired red bowl similar to the above. Fine traces of wheel outside and cross hatching inside.  
h. 0.03; d. 0.105.
- 5405 a similar bowl but colour of clay is lighter.  
h. 0.031; d. 0.11.



- 5406 a bowl in fine clay with a flattened base, curved sides and outrolled rim. It is polished on the outside and has cross hatched decoration in the inside.  
h. 0.046; d. 0.10.
- 5407 a shallow bowl similar to 5404 but has no slip and is not burnished. Fine traces of wheel outside leaving a band 0.01 below the rim which is wet smoothed.
- 5408 - three bowls similar to 5405 with traces of wheel outside  
5410 except a reserved band below the rim.
- 5411 a reddish lamp with a large flat base and four spouts.
- 5412 a globular pot with a small handle and thick rolled rim. The surface is horizontally combed.  
h. 0.22.
- 5413 a big bowl with a flattened and slightly convex base, curved sides and outrolled rim. It is made of fine red brick clay. Traces of wheel outside on lower part and horizontal burnishing on the upper part. Cross hatching inside.  
h. 0.093; d. 0.17.
- 5414 a reddish bowl similar to the above.  
h. 0.06; d. 0.115.
- 5415 a yellowish bowl with cross hatching inside. Similar to the above.  
h. 0.047; d. 0.0885.
- 5416 a dark grey bowl similar to the above. Traces of wheel apparent on the outside all over the surface.  
h. 0.037; d. 0.087.

The curious feature in the architecture of blg XXVIII, mentioned above, supports my suggestion of a ritual function. This feature is a structure which is outlined on the plan by three continuous lines which indicate that stone was not used in its construction. Probably it is a natural cavity in the rock which was used for sacrificial offerings, an Opferstatten, or possibly a crematorium around which a complex of rooms was built. The latter suggestion would have been more positive had the excavator specified that the

crushed bones were in fact human bones. However, the use of this structure as an Opferstatten is quite plausible since similar installations do occur at Byblos.

On the succeeding plan cote 24:00-22:00m, no architectural remains appear above this Unit except three broken walls and an irregular room with flimsy walls. In fact the whole northern wall facing the fortifications with inner buttresses appears now devoid of architectural remains. A jug is reported from the southern part of grid rec. 10, i.e. from room D. It was found about 0:60m above the level of the deposit discussed above. Judging by its level, this jug probably comes from the destruction level of blg XXVIII.

#### Objects

- 5292 a jug with a narrow flat base and elongated body; neck and handle are broken. Traces of vertical combing on body.  
h. 0.174; m.d. 0.066.  
Level: 22:20-22:00m.

It seems that blg activity was not resumed till much later. Two nicely arranged blgs, separated by a new road appear on plan CCVII between 26:00-24:00m. The intervening gap is at least 2:00m between these two blgs and blg XXVIII discussed above.

Within this gap several objects are recorded from grid recs. 10 and 11 but which cannot be associated with any architectural remains.

#### Objects

- 4533 a bowl stand in the shape of an animal's leg. Red burnished clay.  
L. 0.064.
- 4536 a long bronze pin with a rectangular head; it has a swelling below the neck which is largely perforated.  
L. 0.153.

- 4537 a bowl stand similar to 4533.
- 4538 a juglet with an ovoid body and a small slightly flattened base; it has sloping shoulders and a circular handle; a yellowish slip is applied which is vertically burnished.  
h. 0.13; m.d. 0.068.  
Level: 23:60-23:40m.
- 4141 a small bowl in reddish clay with a rounded base and upright sides.  
h. 0.038; d. 0.076.  
Level: 24:00-23:80m.
- 3884 a conical bowl in fine light yellow clay with vertical burnishing.  
h. 0.045.  
Level: 24:20-24:00m.

Unit C (recs. 12-14, 3-6, fig. 15).

Though the stratigraphical record is not complete in this Unit, it was possible to isolate certain phases.

Phase 1: the earliest occupational remains above virgin soil are jar burials the levels of which are as follows:

Jars 65, 70, 73, 74 and 75 were found between 20:60-20:40m.

Jars 79 and 80 appear between 20:40-20:20m. Jar 76 was found between 21:00-20:80m. Jars 76 and 79 are overlaid by walls 5 and 9 of blg XXIX of phase 2. Only two vessels are illustrated from these burials. These are: jug 5809 was found in jar 65 whereas 5867 was found in jar 80.

Phase 2: is represented by blg XXIX which consists of four rooms built on the same axis. In rooms A and B, stone bases are set along the walls while in room C a big squarish stone structure is set slightly off centre. Its disposition is similar to the stone base of room F of batiment XL, phase 5 (fig. 13). The surface level of this stone base is given as 21:36m; the floor of the room could therefore be



+ 21:26m. No objects could be related to this phase.

Phase 3: is identified from the objects listed below which are recorded from levels much higher than the floor of phase 2. Obviously these objects belong to a second phase of blg XXIX.

Objects:

- 5389 a reddish hand-made spherical pot with a large mouth and everted rim. A small handle joins rim to shoulder. The clay is coarse and badly fired. One side is blackened by fire.  
h. 0.16; d. 0.15.
- 5389 bis pot similar to the above, but handle is broken and body is almost spherical. These two pots were found standing against the western wall of room D. They are similar to the pot which was found in bâtiment XVIII, phase 3.  
Level: 21:60-21:40m.

The following is probably later than the pots described above.

Its level is about 0:40m higher than the latter and about 0:65m above the floor of phase 2.

- 5335 a big reddish bowl with curved sides, flattened base and outrolled rim. It is well fired and the walls are thin. It was found in Room C.  
h. 0.088; d. 0.19.  
Level: 22:00-21:80m.

Appended to the eastern side of this blg are four irregularly shaped rooms. Probably these constituted another blg XXX which is contemporary to blg XXIX. The irregular shape of the rooms is due to the available plot of land which is adjacent to the main road A. The wall that surrounds the rooms from the east and north follows exactly the curve of the road. On the succeeding plan cote 24:00-22:00m, a new blg XXXI with spacious rooms is erected above the area occupied by the earlier two blgs XXIX and XXX.

From grid rec. 5, the following jug is reported. This jug must be contemporary to blg XXXI.

5101        a jug with an elongated body tapering down to a very narrow flattened base. It has a long neck with an outrolled rim. Handle joins rim to shoulder.

Apparently blg XXXI was destroyed, evidence of which is seen in the fragmentary condition of its walls. Subsequent to its destruction a new blg appears on plan cote 26:00-24:00m. This latter belongs to a much later period as can be judged from goblet 3473 which is identical to goblets found in R.T. I - III (see Pl. LXXVI: 2).

SUMMARY SEQUENCE TO AREA IV (I11.1, table 4:

To illustrate the relative chronological sequence of this Area, the only reliable Unit is certainly the Baalat Gebal complex, fig. 13-13a. The rest of the Units display a sketchy and incomplete expose of limited periods only.

Period L: is well represented in this Area because excavations were taken down to bedrock and all occupation levels were exposed. Besides, it is only in this area that some of the contents of the jar burials were published and illustrated,<sup>1</sup> though in a very sketchy manner. Only a resume of the main characteristics of these burials is outlined because these fall outside the scope of this study. (Chap. II). The main objective here is to show their stratigraphical position.

The evidence deduced from figs. 13-15 proves that jar burials underlie all occupation levels and are often found on virgin soil<sup>2</sup> (see fig. 13a, where walls of blgs XXVIII and XXIX cut into jars 54 and 65 respectively). It is not possible to associate these tombs with architectural remains in this Area, save perhaps for a flimsy curved wall in court G of blg XXVIII. For the position of similar jar burials in the eastern part of this Area, facing the Baalat complex, see fig. 13b. In this section, taken long ago by Dunand, the jars appear to be laid

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1 From other Areas, only the contents of jar 272 are illustrated. See FB II, Pl. CLXXXVII and grid sq. 19/14 in plan 24:00-23:00m.

2 See infra, chap. II, note 6.



on virgin soil prior to any settlement. The bases of the earliest walls are about 1:00m higher than the levels of most jar burials.

It cannot be assumed that these burials were dug down from a higher level because all of these were found at approximate levels above virgin soil, (see Pl. LXXI:3). Besides they were not found contaminated with typologically later or earlier pottery. The pottery associated with blgs above these jars is of the KI/KII types. None of the wares characteristic of the jarburials were ever found among them. (Comp. Pls. XXXVIII-XLI with Pls. XLVII-XLVIII).

The other type of burials evidenced at Byblos is cave burials.

The stratigraphical relationship of these caves to the rest of the city is very difficult to assess, because these caves lie outside occupation levels and are mostly natural caves carved in the rocky spur on the north-west fringe of the city. (See Plan I and FBI, plan CCIX). This unfortunate situation has led to a great deal of speculation regarding their chronology. (See infra, note 3).

But in view of the present detailed study of the occupation levels at Byblos, a fairly reasonable sequence, illustrated with pottery, has developed. This proved to be very useful for comparative purposes.

Pottery from the caves is very similar and sometimes identical in shape and technique to the pottery of the jar burials (see chap. II).

The specific similarities in the pottery of these burials ensure their contemporaneity. This L period pottery has strong affinities with Proto-Urban or Late Chalcolithic Palestine (see ibid., esp. note 19.) However, based on superficial ceramic similarities, the

evidence of which comes from inadequate photographic Plates, R. Amiran<sup>3</sup> suggested a cultural and chronological link between the L period pottery (i.e. the tomb pottery) and the EB-MB or MBI of Palestine. This attempted link, however, can be neutralised by important evidence from the site. Here, I would like to stress the word important, because the following evidence constitutes the most useful and positive document obtained from the study of the stratigraphical sequence of Byblos. Throughout the architectural analysis of the different strata, it was seen that period KIV which is partly contemporary with the VIth Egyptian Dynasty (see chap. IV A), ended in a general destruction. This destruction is especially well documented in figs. 1-6, 9, 13, 18, 21, 22 and 23. Subsequent to this destruction, new types of pottery appear either within gaps or associated with new temples and secular blgs as well (see Pls. LIII-LXI for the post destruction pottery or periods JI/JII at Byblos). Now if the cave pottery is of EB-MB or MB I, as it has been assumed, one would expect certain similarities and correlations to exist between them and the new JI/JII pottery evidenced in gaps and post-destruction levels at the same site. It can be confirmed now that throughout the analysis of the different strata at Byblos not a single vessel of the tomb pottery types is reported from these Intermediate or post-destruction levels. Furthermore, Amiran fails to distinguish between jar burials and caves - the metal daggers which she refers to were found in jar burial<sup>88</sup>, and since it is shown conclusively that the jar burials

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3 R. Amiran, in IEJ, 10 (1960) pp. 221-223.

underlie all occupation levels at Byblos, indicating that they are stratigraphically safe, Amiran's postulation is completely refuted. These tombs will be discussed briefly in chap. II, but they do not form a part of the comparative study since the latter deals only with the third millennium pottery and architecture.

Period KI: architecture which appears above the levels of jar burials (Pl. CCIX in FBI) is definitely not homogenous and must belong to different periods. The only blg whose sequence could be deciphered is the Baalat complex. Probably phase 2 of the latter which constitutes a single oblong hall was the sanctuary of KI period (Pl. XI 3). Only one bowl (5361) with out-rolled rim and diagonal hatching inside is reported from it. Probably the irregular rooms in grid rec. 26-29, built in rows on the same axis inside a thick wall, are contemporary with this period. This is deduced by analogy with other Units from Areas V and VII (fig. 16 phase 2 and 24, phase 1). Blg XXIX displays a more developed style of layout: It consists of five rooms A, E, B, C and D, built on the same axis. Obviously rooms A and E could not have been built contemporaneously with rooms B, C and D. Their walls are not bonded to room B and they are thinner than the latter (see fig. 15, bottom plan). Whether these two rooms constituted an earlier blg is not possible to tell. It was seen in the analysis of this blg that the floor of room C could not be higher than 21:26m. Bowl 5335 was found in this room but at a higher level (22:00-21:80m) than the floor. Also pots 5389 and 5389 bis were found in room D



between 21:60-21:40m. These objects apparently belong to a later phase. Whether these objects represent another occupational level or another period is difficult to judge. (For the approximate position of the above objects and their relationship to the blgs see fig. 13a).

Similarly blg XXVIII (fig. 14) must have been built and enlarged over the ages. This is seen from its unbonded walls and the great variation in shape and size of rooms. Rooms C and D perhaps constitute the earliest unit of this blg. The southern wall of room D cuts through jar burial 54. A pottery sherd (5684) impressed by a cylinder seal design of confronted animals, was found at the same level as jar tomb 54. This sherd is most probably intrusive here, since evidence from other Units where the stratigraphical record is more complete, shows that these types of cylinders were first used in KI but their floruit was in KIII/KIV (see Area VII, especially Unit B, fig. 23).

Period KII: It was seen above that the earliest blg of the Baalat complex is the oblong hall dated to KI period. In period KII, court A with its pilasters, was probably appended to the southern side of the hall (Pl. XI:3). This is deduced from the fact that the walls are not bonded and the floor of court A is at least 1:00m higher than the floor of the latter hall. It was possible to identify two occupational layers based on the varied levels of the stone bases in court A. Probably during the second occupational layer, the oblong hall was divided into rooms B and C. Because the site has a southward tilt,

the levels of the doorways in bâtiment XVIII from north to south are: 23:93m, 23:85m and 23:70m. Though it is explicitly stated that a layer of ashes 0.40m thick covered the eastern parts of rec. 43-46 and 19-21 (i.e. the area occupied only by bâtiment XVIII), Dunand insists on the contemporaneity of bâtiment XVIII with bâtiment II, because remains of fire were found above the floor of the latter blg between 26:40m-27:00m. In other words, he is assuming the contemporaneity of two blgs where a difference of 3:00m exists between the levels of their floors. Besides, there is no evidence or the slightest indication of a stairway or other means of connecting these two blgs. Also the pottery found in bâtiment XVIII is definitely earlier than the vessels found in the precincts of the latter (see fig. 13). Probably, the excavator relied on the evidence of Old Kingdom alabasters which occur freely in both blgs. It was shown above in the analysis, that these precious objects are useless for chronology<sup>4</sup> when they come from a disturbed level. At Byblos Old Kingdom alabasters are found on the surface (table 8). Probably blg XXIX (fig. 15) with its spherical pots belongs to this period. The circumstances of the pottery deposit found in blg XXVIII (fig. 14) will be discussed in the succeeding period KIII.

Period KIII: is best represented by the Hypostyle temple of the Baalat complex (fig. 13, analysis of phase 4, Pl. XII). This temple

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It was rewarding to read that G. Brunton had observed a similar situation in Egypt. His remark deserves to be quoted, 'Stone vessels are not satisfactory; they are not sufficiently common; they were used and reused in daily life, and were buried only when worn out'. Qaw and Badari I, p. 6.



was built subsequent to the fire which ravaged bâtiment XVIII.

It reveals foreign influence because the stone laying which imitates brick bonding first appears in this temple and is not repeated elsewhere on the site. Its distinctive qualities whether in technique of masonry or layout, and its odd position to bâtiment II rules out the possibility of its being a mere annexe, as the excavator claims.

An open porch K was added to the facade. Its thick walls<sup>5</sup> are not bonded to the thinner walls of the temple. That this porch was unroofed is inferred from the absence of architectural elements which could have served as roof supports, since the space is too wide to be roofed without the help of pillar supports. Moreover, where the porch joins the temple, a low one-sided retaining wall is built. Apparently this wall could not have risen in elevation. It probably served as a face to a step marking the limits of the roofed entrance. The reconstructed ramp (Pl. XII) leading to the entrance of the temple is merely hypothetical. It seems this temple had a short duration because no signs of rebuilding or superimposed stone bases appear.

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5. Probably the thick southern wall of the porch functioned as a retaining wall also, since this part of the site slopes southwards and especially so near the depression area around the Sacred Well and Sacred Pool. The physical structure of this depression is discussed in the Introduction. See figs. 7c and 25a where walls of blgs adjacent to this area are on a lower level than other contemporary walls further removed from the latter area.



It seems that Byblos KIII was initiated by a great commercial activity and foreign contacts. Apart from the ubiquitous alabasters and the foreign style of masonry evidenced in this temple, other objects associated with it indicate such activity. A Mesopotamian lapis-lazuli cylinder seal (Pl. XLVI:3) engraved with the so-called banquet scene design was found in a level which could be assigned to this temple.<sup>6</sup> Also several ceremonial bronze axes each engraved with the head of a stag could be related to it (Pl. LXVII ).

It is not possible to determine the stratigraphy of the other blgs in this Area, nor to estimate the time they spanned. However, on analogy with other Units, the apparent destruction of these blgs shows that they may have survived till the end of period KIV when a great destruction befell the city. Prior to this destruction, blg XXXI was constructed on the area occupied previously by blgs XXIX and XXX (fig. 15, middle plan). An important jug is associated with this blg, but most probably, it belongs to the succeeding period KIV as its level implies. A large deposit of pottery (5390-5416)

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6. See infra chap. III A, footnote 44, all about the dating and origin of this seal.

containing juglets, bowls, broad platters and spherical pots, was found arranged along the walls of room C of blg XXVIII (fig. 14, bottom plan). These were covered by a layer of earth mixed with carbonised wood and crushed bones. The arrangement of this deposit, the existence of crushed bones, carbonised wood, river pebbles placed within the pots as well as a curious structural feature in the middle of the blg, indicate that:

- a. this deposit must have served some ritualistic purposes.
  - b. most probably this deposit had been laid from an upper stratum otherwise it would not have been covered with a layer of earth, bone and wood, had this deposit been used for domestic purposes.
- This situation renders the dating of this deposit very difficult. But in view of the excellence of its technique, the exquisite thinness of the bowls and the existence of a four-spouted lamp with the rest of the vessels, this deposit cannot be earlier than period KIII. Besides the spherical pots of this deposit are wheel-made with a heavy rolled-rim, whereas similar pots of period KII are hand-made with everted rims; (see Pl. L, types D1 (KII) and D2 (KIII/KIV)).

Period KIV: is well illustrated by bâtiment XL (Pl. XIII-XVI), which represents the 5th phase of the Baalat complex (fig. 13, analysis of phase 5). Ironically enough, this blg is considered by Dunand as the earliest of this complex. The impossibility of such an attribution has been discussed in detail in the analysis. Sufficient to mention here that hall J of the latter overlies a good part of the hypostyle hall of phase 4 and cuts through its stone bases (see

Pl. X for the superimposed blgs of this complex). Also the pottery deposit ascribed to this blg (Pl. XLIX, nos. 4104-4109) shows a marked development from the pottery of the earlier periods (comp. with Pl. XLVII-XLVIII). As was suggested above, bâtiment XL must have lasted a long time since it is very solidly built. Two stone slabs with a well smoothed surface, engaged perpendicularly to the top of the southern wall of hall A, are the only extant remains which may suggest a pavement to a probable second floor or second phase blg.

The blgs appended to the north of the complex probably constituted separate lodgings for the priests since they do not appear to communicate. These are probably constructed on a terraced area because the floors of these rooms slope down considerably to the south. Hall J which probably constituted the sanctuary is open to the south. No stone bases are reported from it; could this imply an open sanctuary? (See the hypothetical reconstruction in Pl. XV, where a central altar is suggested by analogy with temple XIII (Pl. III, 2.)). The decorative motifs reconstructed on this temple (Pl. XV, XVI) are borrowed from the stone vase (no. 123) Pl. IX, 2, carved in the shape of a temple's facade; also from the frieze of sacred uraei found near this temple (Pl. IX, 3).

The double gateway is associated with this phase because:

- a. it could not have been contemporary with the temple of phase 4 since its masonry is so strikingly different from the latter (fig. 13, analysis of phase 4 and Pl. XII).



- b. structurally it appears to be earlier than the stairway because it is overlaid by the landing of the latter forming a sort of terrace leading to bâtiment II of periods JI/JII (see below).

The other two Units (figs. 14-15) show signs of destruction at the end of this period. A gap of about 2:00m separates blg XXVIII from the structures above (fig. 14). The walls of blg XXXI also show signs of great disturbances (fig. 15). Two narrow elongated jugs are associated with the walls of these two blgs (chap. II).

Periods JI/JII: apparently bâtiment XL was destroyed and on its ruins a new temple, displaying a radical change in its architectural concept was built (fig. 13, analysis of phases 6/7). This new temple (or bâtiment II as the excavator calls it) consists of a twin sanctuary of the megaron type (Pl. XVII). The style of this temple is almost universal at Byblos during this period (cf. the Obelisk temple XIV, Pl. III 1; the small megaron, temple XVII, Pl. XXVI: 10; the Chapelle Orientale, Pl. XXIII, 3-4). The stratigraphical position of this temple was not difficult to disentangle, once the earlier phases had been isolated and arranged in sequence. Architecturally it is clear that bâtiment II overlies bâtiment XL. The excavator reports that the walls underlying sanctuary B<sup>'''</sup> are preserved to 26:67m. This datum shows that the floor of the latter cannot be lower than 26:70m, (fig. 13, sec. BB). However, it was seen above that the floor level of sanctuary E<sup>'''</sup> could not have been higher than 26:00m at this stage since the top of its

western foundation, which should level with the pavement, does not appear above 26:00m (see FB I, plans CCVIII-CCVI). The fact that the staircase belongs to batiment II is based on the following data:

- a. the reconstructed elevation of the top of this staircase would make it too high for the levels of earlier blgs.
- b. structural similarities also suggest their contemporaneity since both temple and staircase are built on a substructure of either cross walls or parallel ones (Pl. XVII).
- c. the landing of the staircase overlies the double gateway.

It is recorded that the passages in the gateway were blocked after a long period of use. This blocking operation is likely to have taken place during this period because piers 5b-6b were used as a substructure to the landing which may have served as a terrace leading to the temple<sup>7</sup> (fig. 13, sec. AA).

Finally, it is interesting to note that a shaft-hole axe with shallow grooves was laid at the same level as the base of wall 17 of batiment II (fig. 13, sec. BB). Similar axes are reported from 'Amuq J<sup>8</sup> and Til-Barsib<sup>9</sup> hypogeum. It is unlikely that a precious object would slip down accidentally to this deep level. Most probably, it was laid there as a foundation deposit.

Period H: at the end of phase 7, batiment II was completely destroyed

7 See analysis of phases 6/7 where a detailed reconstruction of the possible elevation of the stairway is given.

8 R.J. Braidwood, 'Amuq, fig. 351:9.

9 T.H. Dangin and M. Dunand, Til-Barsib, Pl. XXIX: 6, 8.

by fire and the walls razed almost to floor level (secs. AA-BB). The builders of this period's temple levelled the area covering it up with a layer of sand, and used the thick walls of bâtiment II as foundations to their new temple (secs. AA-BB). Sanctuary E<sup>"</sup> has become a hypaethral hall as can be inferred from the steps which were built in hall E overlying wall 7 and leading to an extra-mural altar (sec. AA). Jar deposits were laid below the floor of hall E which is plotted at  $\pm 27:70m$  according to the level of two extant patches of flagstones marked in hall E and what used to be sanctuary B (secs. AA-BB). The combination of jar deposits and hypaethral sanctuary corroborates the suggestion made above in relation to the hypaethral Obelisk temple and its rich deposits (see fig. 7-7a, analysis of phases 4/5).

Fig. 13c shows flimsy structures covering the north-eastern part of the site facing the Baalat complex, which are contemporary to phase 8. These structures may have served as artisans' workshops as can be deduced from the function of the structure discussed above in which a pottery deposit was found (Pls. LXIV, LXIII: 3840).

In fact the general quality of architecture subsequent to the destruction of levels JI/JII is very poor compared to earlier blgs. Striking examples would be phase 8 of the Baalat-Gebal complex compared to bâtiment II of periods JI/JII; the Obelisk temple phases 4-6 built with rough stones while the underlying complex, phase 3, displays a symmetrical arrangement, and good masonry (comp. Pls. II-IV with FB II, Pls. XXIII, XL).



Table 4

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## AREA IV

		Unit	A	B	C	
		← PHASES →				
H	II	jar deposits 8				
	I	fire				
J	II	7				
	I	deposit 4552 4908	axe 6 5170 bâtiment II			
		← GENERAL DESTRUCTION →				
K	IV	deposit 4104 4109	bâtiment XL		blg <del>XXI</del> 5101	
	III	Hypostyle temple seal 4 axes 4504 4371 4155		deposit 5390 5416	5335	
		fire				
	II	3 bâtiment XVIII 4975-76; 5072-73.; 5045		blg XXVIII	blg XXIX 5389	
	I	2 single cella				
L		1 burials 35, 36, 44, 26 52		burials 54 82	burials 65, 70, 73-76 79-80	

AREA V.

Situated north of the land gate, Area V is separated from Areas I and VI by road A which skirts its southern and western boundaries. It is a greatly disturbed Area where most of its eastern part had been demolished by the deep foundations of the Crusaders' Castle (Plans I, II).

Unit A, sqs. 9-11/24-28, Fig. 16.

Phase I: the earliest occupational remains which appear in this Unit are represented by jar tombs 582-585.<sup>1</sup> Associated with these tombs is a curved wall i which could have been the end of an apsidal house (2nd plan from bottom). Contemporary with it is wall il because both these walls are overlaid by walls x and u of the succeeding phase. The fragmentary walls j, x2 and o2 are probably contemporary with the tombs because architecturally they appear to be out of line with the rest of the walls which will be discussed under phase 2.

Phase 2: the following walls seem to be related and form a coherent plan (o, ol, x, x1, j1, j2, w, p1 and q). Though some of these walls are not bonded, they must have been built at close intervals as is suggested by their layout, and especially the approximate levels of stone bases set along the sides of these walls. Walls (u and ul) appear to overlap and probably both of them are slightly later than the above walls (wall ul does not appear in sec. BB, but since the

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1. Unfortunately, the contents of these tombs are not published; they have been sent long ago to Boston College to be studied, but no results appeared up till now. See FB 112, p.1042, sq. 11/25.

base of wall u is higher than the tops of several walls, and because it appears to be overlaid by wall ul, therefore the latter must be later also). However, the similarity in size and type of walls suggests that the latter two walls constitute a sub-phase rather than a new one which chronologically cannot be much later than the other walls.

Phase 3: the massive foundations of blg XXXIV cut into the walls of phase 2 and plunge down to the levels of phase 1 (sec. AA,BB). Further to the south in grid sq. 11/25, the foundations of an extant part of a blg similar to blg XXXIV cut across the walls of phase 2 reaching the level of the tombs which it overlies (middle plan, sec. BB). At the end of this phase blg XXXIV is completely destroyed leaving only its foundations.

Sq. 9/25.

17182: a small bowl with an irregular flattened base, curved walls and out-rolled rim.  
Level: 24:00-23:80m.

Phase 4: subsequent to the destruction of blg XXXIV, a ramp (no. I) which must have led to a contemporary gate, was constructed. Its foundations cut across the southern part of blg XXXIV reducing its southern wall to the level of phase 2 walls (middle plan, sec. BB, wall p). Could the construction of this ramp imply that the earliest fortifications were similarly built during this phase as well? An important evidence from this Unit supports this hypothesis. A broken wall g which seems to be slightly later than blg XXXIV (sec. AA) appears to have been cut into by the foundations of a defensive wall



as it is obvious that originally this wall should have extended further east. It cannot be argued that this defensive wall might not represent the earliest fortification of the city because all subsequent defensive works are superimposed on the earliest wall and recede further to the outside (sec. AA and Pl. XX, XXI: 1-2). It must be at this stage then that the first fortifications along with their main gate, had been built, and consequently the lay-out of Byblos assumed its traditional form which was to be retained for a very long period of time (see chap. IA). The ground level of this phase around the lowest step of ramp I could be  $\pm 24:50\text{m}$  (see fig. 16c, sec. GG').

Phase 5: the extant remains of ramp II appear on fig. 16c (cross-hatched part; see also fig. 16, middle plan) where sec. GG' crosses both ramps I and II along their longitudinal axis showing their gradual elevation and their superimposed levels. At this stage ramp II extends further inside the city adding three new steps to ramp I, the third of which reaches the top elevation of the extant part of the latter ramp, and indicating a rise of  $\pm 0:50\text{m}$  in ground level. The extant top of this new ramp is at  $\pm 26:50\text{m}$  whereas the ground level is at an approximate  $\pm 24:90\text{m}$ . That no remains of ramp II appear on fig. 16 is due to the fact that sec. BB cuts transversely through the ramp showing its depth along that specific cut where subsequent works appear to have demolished practically all the architectural works of this phase (see fig. 16c where the base of ramp III of phase 6 and wall h2 of phase 7 descend almost to the level of ramp I cutting through and demolishing the levels of ramp II, see also fig. 16, middle plan).

Most probably ramp II is contemporary with the only recorded gateway which appears on plan cote 28:00-27:00m (fig. 16, bottom plan) the floor level of which is given as between 27:80-27:60m. The top of the ramp leading to that gateway is between 26:60-26:40m. The base of the contemporary fortifications II, which are superimposed on wall I, appear to have been built on a continuous line fronting the approach to the gate and forming a sort of platform which connects the top of ramp II with the gate (bottom plan). The top of this platform is  $\pm$  26:90m whereas the step leading to the gate is  $\pm$  27:50m, i.e. there is a difference of  $\pm$  0:60m only. This could be easily bridged by two or three wide steps since the distance which separates the platform from the step of the gate is 4:00m (see fig. 16c, sec. GG').

Phase 6: a break in the architectural sequence is clearly shown in sec. BB where a gap of  $\pm$  0:25m separates ramp III from ramp I of phase 4. This gap is probably filled with the debris of ramp II which apparently had been demolished during this phase as is illustrated in sec. GG, fig. 16c (see analysis of phase 5). The gradual elevation of this ramp is reconstructed in sec. FF', fig. 16b. The top of that ramp which leads to gate III is demolished as well as the gate, the level of which should be above 28:00m (see below). The extant top of this ramp is preserved to an approximate level of  $\pm$  27:00m (see 2nd plan from top where parts of ramp III are shown. Probably, the stepped fortification which recedes further to the outside is contemporary with this ramp (Pl. XX); presumably the associated gate also recedes further to the east.

Wall L2 (sec. BB) is most probably contemporary with this phase. Judging by the level of the lowest step of ramp III, the ground level during this phase must be  $\pm 25:50m$ . It is reported that a group of objects consisting of pottery, bronzes and alabasters were found in the gateway charred by the fire which presumably ravaged the city as well (cf. tables 1, 3-7). The levels of these objects are not given because they were found above cote 28:00m, a point which the excavator took as his datum for his systematic recording of his horizontal spits. Obviously then, these objects cannot be associated with the gate which is recorded on plan cote 28:00-27:00m since the floor level of that gate is as we have seen above  $\pm 27:70m$ . The latter gate is assigned in this study to phase 5 (see above). Criticisms of Dunand's sequence dating of this gate and the associated fortifications will be discussed in the Summary of this Area.

This phase ended in a destruction, and great transformation in the layout of the city seems to have taken place. Walls of subsequent phases cut through ramp III (sec. BB, where wall h2 cuts through the ramp) and new constructions cover the area of the ramps (note how wall h3 is built against fortification II, 2nd plan from top).

Sq. 8/25.

14027: a reddish jar with a large flat base, short narrow neck and a slightly pinched mouth. It is decorated with white spiral bands.  
h. 0.29.

14028: similar to the above but the base is larger and the neck which is higher has developed a trefoil mouth. Painted



with white spiral bands. Pl. LXXIV:4.  
 h. 0.285.  
 Level: 25:00-24:80m.

Sqs. 10/  
26-28.

- 7551: an alabaster vase with concave sides and flaring edges.  
 It is decorated with faintly incised ritual scenes arranged  
 in two registers. This vase was untouched by the fire.  
 It may have been found at a lower level, which implies  
 that it is earlier than this phase.  
 Level is not given.  
 h. 0.081; d.b. 0.071; d.r. 0.065.
- 7552: two bronze bracelets with a diamond shaped section; the  
 ends which overlap are flattened.  
 d. 0.55; th. 0.006.
- 7553: fragment of a solid ?bronze axe with slightly splaying  
 cutting edge.  
 preserved L. 0.095; w. of cutting edge: 0.06.
- 7554: a ?bronze brooch with a square section which tapers to a  
 fine edge; the tang bends slightly and is circular in  
 section.  
 L. 0.285.
- 7555: a ?bronze rod flattened at one end and pointed at the other;  
 it has a circular section all through but the part near the  
 pointed end is square probably for hafting.  
 L. 0.098.
- 7556: a bronze needle with a flattened and rolled head.  
 L. 0.088.
- 7557: four bronze fragments of which two are fragments of blades.  
 Not illustrated.
- 7558: an amethyst scarab. Not illustrated.  
 L. 0.021.
- 7559: three globular beads, two are carnelian and one is grey stone.  
 Not illustrated.
- 7560: a spherical mass of pink clay pierced by three holes.  
 d. 0.03.
- 7561: a conical miniature cup.  
 h. 0.046.

- 7562: a conical cup with greatly splaying sides; a small handle from rim to slightly below the rim.  
h. 0.039.
- 7563: a small conical cup similar to the above but the clay is coarse.  
h. 0.032.
- 7564: four miniature cups; two are conical and the other two are cylindrical. Traces of wheel appear on the surface.  
h. 0.043; 0.031; 0.039; 0.031.
- 7564 bis: a handleless pattern combed jar with an avoid body, flat narrow base and short neck with a moulded rope at the edge of the rim; at the base of the neck another moulded rope appears.  
h. 0.90.

Phase 7: represents a new era on the site subsequent to its destruction by fire. A radical change in the layout of the city is apparent (cf. above phase 6). A new level of constructions appear above the area occupied previously by the ramps and the fortifications (sec. AA, BB, note how wall h2 cuts into ramp III, while wall h3 is built against fortification II). Objects which can be associated with the walls of this phase are definitely post third millennium (ex. juglet 9850).

Unit B, sqs. 9-10/22-23, fig. 17: the earliest architectural remains from this Unit are grouped on plan cote 24:00-23:00m (bottom plan).

The extant walls are greatly disturbed and rather difficult to interpret. Two juxtaposed halls and the element of a third appear, but most of their walls are broken. It is not very clear whether these halls form a single blg or constitute separate entities. However, it is certain that not all the walls from this Unit which appear on plan cote 24:00-23:00m are contemporary. The difference in thickness (note wall r) and orientation (walls k, c2) confirm this hypothesis. Also a great

deal of overlapping of walls exists (see walls e3, e4, e5) and walls from different phases appear to be levelled to the same height (example wall c2, g, sec. AA).

Phase 1: it seems that wall r belongs to the earliest phase of this Unit. It is a thick wall where only its top appears on the plan while its base should be found at a lower level (sec. AA). Probably walls g and e5 are contemporary with wall r as they display similar characteristics. Only part of wall e5 appears because it is overlaid by walls e3, e4 (sec. BB). Element j probably constitutes a part of a pavement which could be contemporary with this phase. A stone base in the corner of walls g-e5 gives the floor level of this hall at  $\pm 23:10\text{m}$ . Stone bases in hall e6-i1 suggest an approximate level to the floor of this hall at  $\pm 23:30\text{m}$ . These two halls are most probably contemporary. Hall g1-f3 is most probably contemporary to these two halls but the level of its stone bases which are between 23:60-23:40m, suggests that this hall could belong to a succeeding phase. However, the existence of an earlier phase of this hall contemporary with the other two halls is demanded by its position and layout, but probably its stone bases or its other occupational features indicating that early phase, have been either demolished or are to be found beneath the floor of the succeeding phase.

No objects can be related to this phase.

Phase 2: represents a rebuilding stage of the earlier halls as is suggested by walls e4 (sec. BB), g2 (bottom plan) and the stone bases of hall g1-f3. The latter gives an approximate level to the floor of



this phase at  $\pm$  23:50m.

Walls c2, k present a stratigraphical problem. It is obvious that they cannot be contemporary with the walls of this or the preceding phase, as they are completely out of line with the walls of the latter and appear to be intrusive here (bottom plan). The plan and orientation of these two walls is similar to the walls of the succeeding blg XXXVI, but they do not belong to it since a gap separates wall c2 from wall c1 of blg XXXVI (sec. AA). This is one example of the great complexities of the architecture at Byblos where walls of separate phases appear on the same horizontal levels. These two walls as well as several of the objects plotted on the plan will be attributed to phase 3 (see below).

Phase 3: the problems of this phase have been discussed above. However, the radical change in plan and layout as represented by these two walls, suggests a fundamental change in the economy and layout of the city. It is for this reason that jug 18650 as well as the rest of the objects listed below, are ascribed to this phase since the latter jug is a diagnostic feature for the post destruction level at Byblos and is always found either within gaps or associated with blgs which often represent a radical change from the earlier traditional pattern (cf. fig. 2, 4, 6, 17, 19 and 23).

#### Objects.

##### Sq. 8/22

18650: a jug with a broad body, large flat base, short narrow neck with a pinched mouth and a small handle from rim to shoulder. White horizontal bands are painted on red surface of jug.  
h. 0.235; d. 0.15.  
Level: 23:40-23:20m.

Sq. 9/22

- 18056: a flat and elongated bronze axe with a largely perforated and rounded butt.  
l. 0.127; w. of cutting edge 0.05.

Sq. 9/23

- 18063: a limestone block, convex on one side, and a form in relief similar to a biconical bead appears on the other side.  
l. 0.24: w. 0.136: th. 0.065.

- 18064: a sandstone mould with a matrix on one side for two narrow cylindrical objects and a perforated conical bead (?).  
Its measurements are:  
0.09 x 0.070 x 0.017.  
level: 23:60-23:40m.

- 17637: a thick rectangular steatite mould. On one side six matrices are carved for three different types of pins. Its measurements are:  
0.12 x 0.056 x 0.026.  
level: 23:80-23:60m.

Phase 4: represents blg XXXVI (3rd plan from top). It follows the same plan and orientation suggested by the walls of phase 3 showing a radical change from the symmetrical layout of phase 2. A new road x overlying the southern part of complex XXXV of phase 2, separates blg XXXVI from an adjacent similar one which is represented by the only extant walls s2-s5 (sec. AA). Apart from wall c1 (sec. AA), the rest of the walls of this blg appear to overlap with walls of phases 3 and 2 (sec. AA and BB).

Sq. 9/22

- 16548: a grey porous and gritty sandstone mould on which several matrices for varied objects such as spirals, pins, a design for a fish, etc., are carved. It was found in road x which overlies wall g of phase 2.  
L. 0.102: w. 0.05: th. 0.02.  
Level: 24:20-24:00m.

Phase 5: A stratigraphical break separates blg XXXVII, which represents this phase, from blg XXXVI of phase 4. However, the general pattern of architectural planning is still preserved. The base of wall c

offers some discrepancies since it appears at greatly varied levels. At the point where this wall is intersected by sec. AA, its base appears between 26:00-25:80m (i.e. at a higher level than the top of walls tl, ul, sec. AA). North of the intersection point, the base of this wall appears between 24:60-24:40m, whereas south of the intersection point it appears between 25:80-25:60m. Whatever the reason for this variation this wall must be later than walls tl, f and ul (sec. AA and BB). Whether an earlier wall existed and was later demolished by the builders of the succeeding phase using the stones of the wall of this phase for building wall c, cannot be confirmed, but this is more likely what has happened.

Objects: the following two objects are recorded on plan cote 26:00-25:00m. They appear at the same horizontal level as the tops of walls tl, ul. Their ascription to this phase is rather arbitrary (see prelude to this section).

Sq. 10/22.

12722: a basalt mortar.  
h. 0.22.

12724: a blue paste scarab; on the reverse is engraved a rosette with four petals arranged radially round a central boss.  
l. 0.012: w. 0.008: th. 0.004.  
Level: 25:60-25:40m.

Judging from the stratigraphical sequence as well as related finds (jug 11858) the succeeding phases and probably this phase post date the third mill. B.C.

Unit C, sqs. 7-9/22-24, fig. 18: is situated north of Unit B with an east-west orientation which was followed all through the history of this Unit. Like Unit B, however, it displays great confusion where walls from different phases appear side by side (bottom plan).



Phase 1: will be tentatively assigned to an early phase of blg XXXVIII which is contemporary with phase 1 of complex XXXV (fig. 17) since hall f1-g1 shares wall, f1, with hall e6-i1 of the former complex. Though the walls of halls f1-g1, m-x3 are not bonded, they were probably built very close in time as is suggested by their layout and character of the walls (bottom plan). The floor of this phase could be plotted  $\pm$  23:10m according to the level of the threshold or door sill indicated in wall m1 and coloured as to be between 23:20-23:00m. Probably walls r (bottom plan) and p, q, (sec. BB) are contemporary with this phase. The following two bowls could probably be associated with the latter walls.

#### Objects.

##### Sq. 9/24.

- 18854: a deep bowl with a large flattened base and vertical sides, fine traces of wheel outside and cross-hatching inside. Plain rim.  
h. 0.048: d. 0.38.
- 18855: a bowl with a flattened slightly convex base vertical sides and out-rolled rim. Wheel traces outside and burnishing inside.  
h. 0.036: d. 0.074.  
Level: 23:20-23:00m.

Phase 2: a small extant area Q (sec. BB) paved with flagstones appears south of hall m-x3 and could probably be related to it. Apparently, a destruction, at the end of this phase, reduced the walls of hall m-x3 to approximately the same level as the floor of this phase which is suggested by the level of area Q (sec. BB).

##### Sq. 8/23.

- 17158: a bowl with a large flat base, slightly carinated walls and out-rolled rim. Decorated with diagonal hatching inside while traces of wheel lines appear outside on the lower part.  
h. 0.045: d. 0.101.  
Level: 24:00-23:80m.

17064: a juglet with a broad body, short stump base and loop handle from rim to shoulder.

h. 0.12.

this is not recorded within an 0:20m spit because it was found in the course of demolishing all walls between levels 25:00-24:00m.

Phase 3: is represented by blg XXXIX which comprises three oblong

halls, e-f, f-g and h-j, set adjacently (2nd plan from bottom).

A stratigraphical break separates this blg from blg XXXVIII of phases 1 and 2 (sec. BB). Walls f, g, of this phase over lie the much thinner walls f1, g1 of phase 2 (sec. AA). Two squarish stone structures z are set in the middle of room h-j. Probably these structures served as working tables for scribes. Their shape, size and position in the room agree with this supposition. Besides, the discovery of an Ur III tablet in the vicinity of this room supports this suggestion. In this case the limestone tablet no. 17145, which is found below the base of wall h of this phase (sec. AA) could probably be contemporary with the construction of blg XXXIX. The floor of this blg could not be lower than  $\pm$  24:80m since the base of wall x2 appears between 24:80-24:60m (sec. BB).

A great destruction befell this Unit at the end of this phase as is evident from the levelled walls of this blg and the great gap which separates them from subsequent architectural works (sec. AA). In sec. AA, BB, two extant fragments of walls g, x2, respectively, suggest the possibility of a second phase of this blg, but we have no other concrete evidence to support this possibility.

Sq. 8/23.

15756: an ivory comb with teeth on both edges decorated with incised circles on both sides.

L. 0.04: w. 0.03: m. th. 0.006.

- 15757: long neck of a jug in yellowish clay and an everted rim.  
Handle is decorated with the figure of a ram biting the rim.  
h. 0.125: l. of animal 0.041.
- 15758: fragment of a handle similar to the above.  
l. of animal 0.04.  
Level: 24:40-24:20m.
- 14024: a big bowl with a ring base and a thick horizontal handle.  
h. 0.060: d. 0.174.
- 14023: an Ur III cuneiform tablet<sup>5</sup> arranged in vertical columns.  
Level: 25:00-24:80m.
- Sq. 7/23.
- 17145: a limestone tablet inscribed with signs related to the  
Egyptian hieroglyphic script and arranged in four registers.  
On the reverse, a ritual goblet or a fruit stand is incised.  
L. 0.032: w. 0.024: th. 0.007.  
Level: 24:00-23:80m.

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5. See George Dossin in MUSJ, vol. XLV (1969) pp. 245-248.  
Dossin interprets Dunand's footnote in FB, 112, p. 657,  
note 1, in which it is stated that this tablet, 'releve  
de la même couche que le cylindre no. 4183' (the latter  
was found in the northern part of the Obelisk temple's  
courtyard) as implying that this tablet is not in its  
original place. In fact Dunand does not mention anywhere  
that the cuneiform tablet 14023 is misplaced, and in using  
the word couche, Dunand is most probably implying that the  
cylinder seal 4183 and tablet 14023 are contemporary and belong  
to the same stratigraphical level; otherwise, he would have used  
the word levée. However, the stratigraphical context of the  
cuneiform tablet appears to be more reasonable in its recorded  
levée 25:00-24:80m, than Dossin's groundless suggestion that  
it should be in the same levée as the cylinder seal 4183, the  
level of which is between 24:00-23:80m. (FBI, p. 313).  
Moreover, obviously Dossin is not aware of the distance that  
separates the locus of each object, because he comments that  
grid sq. 8/23 is near the Obelisk temple, whereas the fact  
is that these two spots are separated by more than forty metres,  
a distance which can imply great changes in levels in a terraced  
site like Byblos.



Sq. 8/23.

14409: a jar<sup>6</sup> with a large flat base, two loop handles on either side and a short neck with an out-rolled rim. The surface is combed in horizontal bands.  
h. 0.40.  
Level: 24:80-24:60m.

It was suggested above that there is a possibility of a second phase of blg XXXIX, but the evidence is too meagre to support it. Two goblets of a transitional character (12964, 12965) were found within level 25:60-25:40m and probably within the trapezoidal court b1-b2 (sec. BB). However, the rest of the objects which could be related to the architecture of this Unit subsequent to phase 3 are definitely post third millennium (juglet 11326, jar 12387). An intrusive alabaster fragment inscribed with the name of Mycerinus (IVth Dyn. of Egypt) was found near wall t (sec. BB).

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6. For the stratigraphical and typological problems of this jar, see chap. II, under period KIV, type E4.

SUMMARY SEQUENCE TO AREA V. (table 5).

Because of its proximity to the landgate and the fortifications, it seems that from the outset this Area was subject to great disturbances. Aside from contemporary events which could have resulted in destruction and change, later events had more far-reaching effects and wrought more damage to the architectural remains. The Romans, for example, were responsible for a great deal of levelling and in the process wiped out several structural phases.<sup>1</sup> But more detrimental to the architecture of the early periods is the fact that a good part of the blgs on the north-eastern front of the site, have been completely obliterated by the massive and deep foundations of the Crusaders' Castle (see plans I and II).

Period L, fig. 16a: The earliest occupational evidence in this Area is represented by 582-585. These seem to be associated with a curved wall which could have been the end of an apsidal blg. Walls il, j, x2 and o2 are most probably contemporary (see fig. 16, sec. BB). The extant remains of a similar curved wall in Area VII (see infra, Summary of Area VII, period L), also associated with jar tombs, confirms their contemporaneity.

Period KI, fig. 16a: The architectural remains which could be ascribed to this period appear in Unit A only. Numerous flimsy walls enclosing small rooms cover a substantial part of this Area (see figs.

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1. See plan II where a Roman theatre appears on the site of the superimposed ramps which have led to the main gateway.

16a and 16, second plan from bottom). Some of these walls are not bonded, an indication that not all these rooms were built at the same time. But that these rooms should be closely related in time is suggested by their approximate floor levels deduced from the levels of the stone bases set along the sides of their walls (these levels range between 23:60-23:20m). It is unfortunate that no pottery was recorded from this Unit at this stage. A contemporary house in Area I (Unit A, fig. 1) but with more solid walls yielded a pottery deposit (nos. 18786-18791, Pl. XLV) of great interest.

Period KII, fig. 16a: The massive foundations of blg XXXIV plunge down to deeper levels than some of the walls of period KI (see fig. 16, secs. AA, BB). In plan, this blg is a simple rectangle divided into two rooms of approximate size. Such a simple plan is seen in several blgs of periods KII to KIII.<sup>2</sup> The fact that blg XXXIV is constructed on the periphery of the site, where the remains of a southerly adjacent blg with similar massive walls also appears, is probably indicative of a certain defensive measure. At this stage the ramps leading to the gateway were not built; neither, presumably, were the fortifications. This is clearly illustrated in fig. 16a where blg XXXIV stands on the site which was later partially occupied by ramp I of the succeeding period KIII. See also sec. BB (fig. 16), where a gap separates this ramp from the underlying walls of this period. The significance of this stratigraphical break will be assessed in chap. II.

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2. See Pl. XXX, 1 - 2.



Period KIII: The most important architectural feature which can be assigned to this period is ramp I which presumably led to gate I (sec. BB). That the fortifications also could not have been built prior to this period is based on the following points (cf. fig. 16, phase 4):

- a. Three main architectural phases (representing periods L, KI, KII) precede the construction of ramp I.
- b. Wall g (transitional between KII/KIII), which originally should have extended further east, was cut into by a defensive wall (see fig. 16, middle plan, and sec. AA).
- c. It cannot be argued that the defensive wall which cuts into wall g might represent a second or third fortification wall, because it is clearly illustrated on the plans and diagrams of Dunand that all subsequent defensive works have receded further back, i.e. to the outside (see Pl. XX, 1-3 and XXI, 1 - 2).
- d. A further evidence for the late date of the first fortification of Byblos is supplied from Area VII where blgs of period KIII are associated with the first defence system. (See infra, Summary of Area VII).
- e. Finally, Dunand<sup>4</sup> estimates the width of the early defensive wall as 24:00m. His<sup>5</sup> latest dating of that wall is reckoned between 3000-2800 B.C. Such a cyclopean wall is not attested from any other site at this early age, nor is it likely to have been built at Byblos as well.

If one surveys Dunand's sequence dating of these fortifications one cannot help but wonder at the apparent confusion and contradiction in his records. Added to the confused stratigraphy of the site,

3. See FB II, Pl. CCXII and plan cote, 28:00-27:00m.
4. See op.cit. p. 125.
5. See Byblos, p. 20.

Dunand uses the conventionally held periods Bronze Ancien I - III interchangeably with his chronological periods known as Installations I-VI in an unsystematic fashion. For the reader's convenience, it was decided therefore to group Dunand's different dates and terminologies on a separate chart <sup>6</sup> (table 5a) showing clearly their contradictory nature in relation to the sequence the excavator proposes for the defences. Dunand identifies three main walls which he ascribes to Bronze Ancien I - III. The earliest wall is described as measuring 24:00m wide and consisting of two parallel stone battered walls with a filling of earth inside.<sup>7</sup> Such a wall could have served as a formidable platform for subsequent defences at Byblos. The date the excavator proposes for this early wall is Bronze Ancien I<sup>8</sup> and interchangeably Installation IV<sup>9</sup> or V<sup>10</sup> (note that Installation V is Bronze Ancien II): this wall carries no. 23 in FBII, Pl. CCXII). The second wall<sup>11</sup> which is characterized by massive regular buttresses on the inner side appears mainly on the northern circuit bridging the area between the Crusaders' Castle and the sea (Plan I). A small part of this wall appears on the eastern front superimposed on the earlier wall (Pl. XXI: 1 - 2). The coated face and straight corners of this wall are modern reconstructions

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6. References for the dates and terminologies which appear on the chart are found in: RB, 57 (1950), FB II, Pl. CCXII: FBII1, pp. 124 - 125: FBI, pp. 421 - 424: Byblos.

7. FBII1, p. 125.

8. ibid.

9. RB, 57 (1950), p. 595.

10. FBII, Pl. CCXII.

11. FBI, pp. 421 - 424.

by the excavator so as to preserve this extant part of the fortification. Dunand dates this wall to Bronze Ancien II<sup>12</sup> as well as to Installation VI<sup>13</sup>, a period which is supposed to represent Bronze Ancien III (this wall carries no. 30 on Pl. CCXII). Wall III which is well preserved on the eastern front, has a stepped face consisting of large shallow recesses (Pl. XX: 1 - 3). Strangely enough, this wall is attributed both to Bronze Ancien III and to Installation Amorite which represents the Middle Bronze Age. These fortifications, however, do not form a part of this study because very little of these appear on the plans. Nevertheless, it was possible to formulate the following tentative sequence as a result of the analysis of Unit C, Area VI:

Units A, B, C, Area VII and the present Unit from Area V.

Ist fortification = period KIII = ramp I leading to gate I.

IIInd fortification = period KIV = ramp II leading to gate II, the level of which is  $\pm$  27:70m, (fig. 16c, sec. GG').

IIIrd fortification = periods JI/JII = ramp III leading to gate III, the level of which should be at a certain point above 28:00m, (fig. 16b, sec. FF').

This architectural digression was necessary here in view of the important evidence this Area has contributed regarding the sequence of the city's defences.

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12. FBII1, p. 125.

13. RB, 57 (1950), p. 598; FBII (Pl. CCXII).



TABLE 5a.Dunand's chronological sequence of Byblos.

Installation III or Rurale ou de transition	Bronze Ancien I1	3200-3050:  3200-3100:  3200-3000.
Installation IV or Premiere Installation  Urbaine	Bronze Ancien I2	3050-2850:  3100-2800:  3000-2800.
Installation V or Installation Urbaine  Developpee	Bronze Ancien II	2850-2700:  2800-2700:  2800-2500.
Installation VI or Installation Pre-  Amorite	Bronze Ancien III	2700-2150:  2500-2150.
Installation VII or Epoque Amorite		2150-1725.

Contemporary with this period should be phase 1 of blgs XXXV and XXXVIII (figs. 17, 18). Parts of these two blgs appear in the earlier plans published in 1939 (Plan I), a fact which explains the broken walls which appear on the coloured plans attached to the north-western ends of these blgs.

Period KIV: is represented by phase 2 of blgs XXXV and XXXVIII.

The destruction both blgs were subjected to at the end of that phase and the pottery associated with blg XXXVIII corroborate this dating.

It has been explained above in the analysis of Unit A, phase 5, which is contemporary with phase 2 of the latter blgs, that the gap between ramps I and III chanced on the transversal cut of sec. BB, is the result of destruction at the end of phase 5 after which architectural works intruded into the levels of ramp II demolishing a good part of it (fig. 16c). Where sec. GG' is taken across the ramps along their longitudinal axis, a continuous succession of these two ramps could be reconstructed showing later intrusions (ramp III and wall h2). The only recorded phase of the main gate which appears on plan cote 28:00-27:00m is probably associated with this ramp. The level of the gate is given between 27:80-27:60m, while the ground level inside the city near the foot of the ramp could be  $\pm$  24:90m (fig. 16: bottom plan and fig. 16c).

Periods JI/JII: a destruction at the end of phase 2 of blgs XXXV and XXXVIII mark an end of an era and the beginning of a new one represented by phase 3 which yielded new constructions and ceramics (fig. 17, walls

c2 and k, jug 18650), as well as two tablets, a limestone one inscribed with characters showing Byblite adaptation of Egyptian script (17145) and a cuneiform Ur III tablet (14023). Both these tablets are associated with blg XXXIX (fig. 18). Contemporary with the above is phase 6 of Unit A (fig. 16) which is represented by the construction of a new ramp III leading to a gate the level of which should be at a certain point above 28:00m whereas the ground level at the foot of the ramp could be  $\pm$  25:50m. Three jugs (14027-14029, see Pl. LXXIV:4) similar to that found in fig. 17 phase 3, are associated with the construction of ramp III. On the paved floor of the gate, several objects were found charred by fire, evidence of a destruction at the end of these two periods. Signs of destruction and disturbances also appear in figs. 17, 18 at the end of phase 3.

Goblets 12964, 12965 are important in that they reflect a transitional character between vessels of periods JI/JII and the early Middle Bronze Age as represented by phases 4 and 5 of the Obelisk complex. Jar 12837 is of especial interest because of its striking similarity to jar 17261 of the Obelisk complex (fig. 7b). The importance of the above goblets as well as the latter jar will be discussed fully in chap. II.



AREA V

Unit	A	B	C
← PHASES →			

H

↑  
J  
↓

II

3

4

I

gateway,  
ramp  
6

3

cuneiform  
tablet 14023  
3

← GENERAL DESTRUCTION →

↑  
K  
↓

IV

ramp II  
5

2

2

III

ramp I  
4

1

1

II

3  
blg xxxiv

I

2

L

burials  
1  
582 586

Area VI, Ill. 1

Situated at the foot of the eastern fortifications, this Area is bounded on the north and west by road B, and is separated from Area VII by lane n (Plan I).

Unit A (sq. 13-15/19-22, fig. 19):The Chapelle Orientale

Phase 1: an extant part of a room or ?blg s-s2, appears beneath the base of a square platform (bottom plan). Probably wall f4 also precedes the construction of the latter (sec. AA), but whether it is contemporary with room s-s2 cannot be proved. However, since both elements precede the construction of the platform, they are grouped under this phase.

Objects:Sq. 15/20:

18804 a fragment of a handle stamped with a design of two circles divided into quadrants, filled with chevrons, and joined in the middle by triangles. It was found in room b4-b5.  
 l. of stamp: 0.046  
 Level: 23:40-23:20m.

Two sherds stamped with geometric designs (17900, 17407) are found in a much higher level, but most probably they are not in their proper context since their coarse clay, low firing and handmade technique puts them in the same class as the above sherd.

Phase 2: overlying the walls of phase 1, a square platform (11:60 x 11:60) on which an oblong cella K with an altar slightly off-centre

is built (bottom plan). The floor of the cella, as can be deduced from the surface level of the flagstones that cover its floor, should be  $\pm 23:70\text{m}$ . The original surface of the platform is slightly lower since the top of wall L3 which forms its original edge is between 23:60-23:40m (sec. BB).

A flight of four steps with an east-west orientation lead to the surface of the platform. The level of the lowest step is between 23:20-23:00m, suggesting that the ground level at this stage should be  $\pm 23:10\text{m}$  (sec. BB). Finally, a low enclosure wall L4 may have originally surrounded this platform (bottom plan and sec. BB).

Two architectural features suggest that probably the extant paved area of cella K need not represent its original size. First, area K shows a jagged outline where stones jutt out while others appear to be broken; such irregular edges could not have formed its original face. This situation is more likely to have been the result of later disturbances such as having walls cut through the present pavement.

It is possible that walls L1, f2 and e2 were constructed in the succeeding phase and that their foundations had cut through cella K.

The second feature which prompts a similar hypothesis is the existence of a semi-circular structure at the north-east side of cella K.

Its situation and function as it is preserved to us is incomprehensible.

It is probable that originally it was a circular basin, half of which has been demolished by later works (see reconstruction of this phase, Pl. XXII: 1). However, these suggestions are merely hypothetical since nothing can be definitely proved.



Phase 3: represents a new structural phase of the Chapelle. A new flight of steps with a north-south orientation leading to the surface of the platform is superimposed on the earlier steps which are differently orientated (see, 1st and 2nd plans from bottom). The ground level at this stage is  $\pm$  24:10m as can be deduced from the level of the lowest step and from the stone bases which support a sort of peristyle along the northern front of the shrine (Pl. XXIV: 1). The surface level of the platform as represented by its edge, wall L2, is between 24:60-24:40m, while the doorway across wall e2 is coloured as to be between 24:40-24:20m. A stone slab is placed in front of the doorway leading to the cella the level of which is between 24:80-24:60m. All these features suggest a level for the floor of the shrine at  $\pm$  24:60m. A doorway across wall f2 parallel to that of wall e2 is suggested by the photograph on Pl. XXIV: 1, where evidence of a blocked door is apparent. Three rooms a2-a3, a3-b2, b2-d2 have been built to the south of the Chapelle and apparently are related to it (sec. AA, and 2nd plan from bottom).

Phases 4 and 5: these two phases are discussed together as they appear to be very close in time, and because it is not very easy to draw a completely clear line between the two phases though there are indications to suggest that a separate phase 4 did exist.

The floor level has risen extensively and it seems that the builders of these two phases have dispensed with the idea of an artificial platform. Walls a2, a3, h, as well as the stone bases which formed a sort of a peristyle on the northern front, now lie beneath the

floors of these two phases. New walls have been constructed, c2, d3 and bench e1 (sec. AA). Stone bases appear against walls L1, O2, and a circular altar On is built slightly off-centre (sec. BB). The floor of phase 4 could be  $\pm$  25:50m according to the level of the extant paved area n (sec. BB). It seems that wall q1 is now reduced to a low front porch wall (see Pl. XXIV: 2). In the succeeding phase the area between the antae O2 is paved with flagstones covering also wall q1 (sec. BB). The surface level of this pavement, q is  $\pm$  25:70m. A big stone socle perhaps for carrying the statue of a deity overlies wall q1 (2nd plan from top). Most of the objects illustrated on fig. 19 belong to these two phases. A few of these objects are important diagnostic features for post destruction levels at Byblos. However, it is interesting to note that no signs of destruction appear in this temple despite the apparent change in material culture and its inner arrangement (see Summary of this Area).

### Objects:

#### Sq. 14/22:

14649

a reddish goblet with a flat base almost cylindrical body largely splaying at the upper part. Decorated with a large white band below the rim, irregular red bands cover the surface below the rim.

h. 0.055; d. 0.023.

Level: 24:80-24:60m.

#### Sq. 14/21:

14235

big reddish jug with a broad body, short narrow neck, with splayed side and a pinched mouth; a small handle from rim to shoulder; large flat base; five horizontal creamy bands on mid-body.

h. 0.225.

14236

bowl with very thin sides and tapering rim; high cylindrical button base; a thick red brown polished

slip covering also a band inside below the rim.  
h. 0.068.

14237 a miniature goblet with flaring sides, concave at lower body; flat base.  
h. 0.032.  
Level: 25:00-24:80m.

13470 bronze dagger with a pointed flat blade, slightly concave sides; shoulders wide and angular with a short tang; two rivet-holes close together in the shoulders and one above in the tang.  
l. 0.182.

13471 blackish juglet with a plump body; irregular disc base; short wide neck with a pinched mouth; handle from rim to shoulder.  
h. 0.142.  
Level: 25:20-25:00m.

Sq. 15/19:

14254 bronze pin with head of a stag, found in the middle room of the southern annexe.  
l. 0.057.  
Level: 25:00-24:80m.

14255 a carnelian globular bead. No measurements are given.

14257 an amphora identical to those of deposit 4582-4907 of the Baalat complex. It is painted with red bands showing an inverted pine-tree motif. No exact measurements are given.

14258 jar with a globular body, flat base, with two circular handles at mid-body. The neck is short with out-rolled rim.  
h. 0.245.

13176 a cup with a narrow flat base, splaying sides and a circular handle from rim to shoulder.  
h. 0.04.  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

12839 ) two cups similar to the above but bases are very narrow  
12840 ) and long forming a sort of pedestal.  
h. 0.043 and 0.036.  
Level: 25:60-25:40m.

Sq. 15/20:

12842 neck of a jug with a zoomorphic handle, probably a ram biting at the rim.



r.d. 0.051  
level: 25:60 - 25:40

11698 miniature votive cups. Found after the demolition of wall  
11752 g between 27:00 - 26:00 m.

Phase 6: at this stage, the basic layout of the shrine appears to have changed drastically. It is unfortunate that very little of it is preserved so that a detailed reconstruction of its original plan is not possible. The irregular perimeter of the court or temple area is still retained, but the area inside is now divided into two big rectangular compartments. Wall z overlies bench el of phases 4 and 5.

Judging by its stratigraphical position (note its relationship to the Middle Bronze Age adjacent Unit B), this phase definitely post-dates the third millennium and therefore would not be subject to further analysis.

Unit B (Sqs. 12-13/21-23, fig. 20): is built adjacent to and in connection with the Chapelle Orientale in its 6th phase. A passage in wall h2 of the Obelisk temple, phase 7, flanked by two walls, abutts at wall el of this Unit but no corresponding opening is marked in the latter wall. Phase 7 of the Obelisk complex represents a stage which is later than the Royal Tombs (see analysis of fig. 7-7a; phase 5 and 6 are contemporary with the Royal Tombs and Abishemu. Phase 7 which is not discussed in the analysis of the temple is later than phase 6). It is interesting to note that the walls which connect this Unit with the Obelisk temple block one of the major roads B, which persisted all through the early history of this city (Plan: I & cote 27 00). Moreover, the western half of this Unit occupies an area 26 00 m).

where no underlying levels of occupation or any architectural vestiges appear. This certainly implies a radical change in the layout of the city when this blg was constructed. Judging from its stratigraphical position as well as the pottery which is associated with it, this Unit definitely falls outside the scope of this study. However, it serves as a good stratigraphical guide to other adjacent Units and will be referred to in this context.

Unit C (Sqs. 15-17/22-25, fig. 21):

Phase 1: is represented by blg XL which consists of several rooms of unequal size built on the same axis (bottom plan). Nothing is recorded from this blg which could suggest an approximate level to its floor. Wall y2 which seems to have served as a low partition wall or probably a door sill should belong to a later phase because its base appears at the same level as the top of walls i (sec. AA), v, z (sec. BB). This blg is situated at the northern slope of the eastern rocky knoll (sec. AA). This is why its walls appear at lower levels than the adjacent blg XLII of Area VII which occupies a more elevated position on this knoll (ibid. and fig. 21a). Because of this situation it is plausible to plot a floor to this phase which is not much higher than the flattened rock surface (see sec. BB for the shallow foundations of the walls). It is interesting to note the deep foundations of walls i, f (sec. AA) which are built on the sloping edge of the knoll.

Objects:

Sq. 16/23:

16379 a big bowl with a flat base, largely splaying convex

sides with a thick inverted rim. Burnished bands radiate from the centre to a certain point below the rim where three horizontally burnished bands form a contrasting pattern.

h. 0.055; d. 0.162.

Level: 24:40-24:20m.

Phase 2: the new features of this phase are wall y2 (discussed above) and room m2-n4 (sec. BB), the walls of which are not bonded to wall b2 of blg XL., suggesting that they were added later. The floor of this phase is plotted at  $\pm$  24:90m according to the level of wall y2.

Probably the following metal cache belongs to this phase.

Sq. 16/23:

- 14685 ) two flat and elongated bronze axes with splaying cutting  
14686 ) edges. The butts are rounded and have a circular  
perforation.  
l. 0.116; 0.155: w. of cutting edges, 0.068; 0.066.
- 14687 a flat chisel with splaying cutting edge and squarish  
butt.  
l. 0.108; w. 0.03; th. 0.005.  
Level: 24:80-24:60m.
- 14291 a bone pin, the head of which is decorated with cross  
incisions bounded by two horizontally incised lines on  
either end of the pattern.  
l. 0.097.

Phase 3: represents a major structural phase of blg XL. A stratigraphical break separates walls m2, n4 of phase 2 from walls m1, n2 of this phase. Wall b1 overlies wall b2 but is much thicker than the latter. A new wall w with an extant patch of pavement x belong to this phase. The surface of pavement x is given between 25:40-25:20m, suggesting a level to the floor of this phase at  $\pm$  25:30m. This phase ended in a great destruction as is clearly illustrated in sec. AA where walls of this blg are demolished to



levels below its floors.

No objects can be associated

with this blg at this stage.

Phases 4/5: subsequent to the destruction of blg XL, a huge gap separates the latter blg from wall e of this phase (sec. AA). Later, probably in phase 5, blg XLI was constructed as well as the so-called casemate<sup>1</sup>. The latter is constructed partly over the fortifications and partly inside the city. Dunand gives its locus as being grid sqs. 16-17/24, but elsewhere he gives its locus as grid sqs. 16-17/23.<sup>2</sup> In his chart (FBII, Pl. CCXII), the excavator reproduces this blg as a logis monocellulaire showing gross and misleading errors. The fact is that this structure is neither a casemate nor a logis monocellulaire, but a tripartite blg, probably a temple tower, as it is clearly reproduced on plan cote surface (grid sqs. 16-17/24-25). This tripartite blg is constructed contemporaneously with fortification III (the recessed wall) forming an integral part of its system (Plan II). The measurements recorded for this blg are as follows:<sup>3</sup> the base of the wall that plunges inside the city is at 26:50m and 26:75m, while the base of the wall that overlies fortifications I and II is given at 27:67m. The floor level of the blg is recorded at 29:27m. It is improbable that this high floor

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1 FBIII, pp. 123, 270

2 ibid., p. 123.

3 ibid., p. 270, footnote 1.

level belongs to this phase. The reason for rejecting it is clear. Because this blg is constructed above the fortifications one would expect that the latter should form a good substructure for its floor level; and since the top of the fortifications is at 27:67m as is inferred from the level of the base of the tripartite blg, the floor of the blg should not therefore be much higher than 28:00m (see fig. 21b, sec. JJ' for the relationship of the tripartite blg to the fortifications and the city levels). That floor 29:27 could belong to a later period is corroborated by a group of pottery claimed to have been found inside this blg. The pottery could be easily divided into two groups, one which is diagnostic for post destruction levels (periods JI/JII), the other is characteristic of a later period contemporary with the Obelisk temple, phases 4 - 5 and the Royal Tombs.

Sq. 17/22:

12261: fragment of a neck of jug with a zoomorphic handle.  
Level: 26:00-25:80m.

Sq. 16/24:

12181 a broad platter with a flattened slightly concave base at the middle. Vertical sides and plain rim.  
d. 0.241.  
Level: 26:00-25:80m.

The following objects were found in the tripartite blg or the so-called casemate. The pottery vessels recorded below constitute a homogeneous group which is well known from other Areas of the site.

Sqs. 16-17/24:

7567 base of an alabaster vase.  
h. 0.074.

7572 a bronze dagger blade with a short flat tang. One rivet-hole at the end of the tang and two in the

shoulder.

L. 0.154; m.w. 0.034.

- 7573 a bronze rod with a squarish section and tapering end.  
L. 0.059.
- 7574 a narrow bronze chisel with a square section. The butt is reinforced with a slightly projecting rim.  
l. 0.10; side of section 0.011.
- 7585 a blackish teapot with a globular body, flat base and a cylindrical spout on the shoulder. It is decorated with white horizontal bands on the shoulder and below the rim.  
h. 0.165.
- 7586 an ovoid vase with a narrow disk base, high neck with splayed sides; four knobs perforated vertically are placed at mid-body at regular intervals. The clay is fine, light pink in colour; it is covered with a dark red slip, almost brown. Two rilled bands are produced by turning the wheel on the pot after it has been slipped revealing the light colour of the clay which forms a contrasting pattern to the dark smooth slip of the vessel.  
Not illustrated.  
h. 0.118.
- 7587 a small amphora with a flat disk base and broad body; two handles on mid-body are broken; decorated with thick light red bands; traces of fire.  
h. 0.133
- 7589 a squat bottle with narrow flat base and extremely bulging sides; short narrow neck with splaying sides. It is covered with a red slip that converges to the inside below the rim.  
h. 0.092.
- 7590 a jug with a broad body and large flat base; neck is narrow and short, with probably a trefoil mouth; a small handle joins rim to shoulder; the surface is decorated with creamy horizontal bands.  
h. 0.24.
- 7592 a pattern combed jar with a narrow flat base, ovoid body, wide short neck with a rolled rim. A rope band at the base of the neck and two small handles at mid body.  
h. 0.75.
- 7593;7594 fragments of a similar jar to the above



- 7595 an incomplete pattern combed jar with an elongated body and without handles.  
preserved height, 0.80.
- 7614 ) two fragments covered with a red ochre slip and  
7615 ) decorated with two rilled bands produced by the  
wheel.  
d. 0.095; m. dim. 0.09.
- 7618 bottom of an ovoid vase with a narrow disk base; clay  
is fine and buff in colour.  
h. 0.10.
- 7619 two fragments of bowls with curled over button bases.  
Fine buff clay.  
h. 0.035.
- 7622 bottom of a vase in common clay; the edge of the base  
is bevelled.  
h. 0.05.
- 7623 upper parts of three combed jars with moulded ropes  
at base of neck.
- 7624 a flat-based lamp with four spouts; the clay is red  
pink.

Judging by their style, jugs 7591, 7597 and 7608 should belong to a later phase, perhaps contemporary with floor 29:27m. Similar vessels appear in the Obelisk temple, phases 4 and 5 (fig. 7b).

SUMMARY SEQUENCE TO AREA VI (table 6).

It is deplorable that certain architectural features in this Area (the tower temple for example) which is of paramount significance for the history of Byblos is so poorly documented that an assessment of its full significance is beyond the reach of any researcher.

Because this Area occupies a lowpart of the site, architectural works belonging to early periods are to be found in levels deeper than those published.

Period KII: phase 1 of Unit A (fig. 19) represents a pre-Chapelle period. The extant walls are broken and it is impossible to reproduce a coherent plan. Whether these walls represent just one stage earlier than the Chapelle or belong to more than one period, is impossible to know. But because prior to periods JI/JII the Chapelle shows two structural phases which can be equated with periods KIII/KIV, the pre-Chapelle phase 1, will be tentatively assigned to Byblos KII. The associated stamped pottery sherds are similar to those produced during period L, but it is more likely that they are intrusive here.

Period KIII: represents the 1st stage of the Chapelle (fig. 19, phase 2). It consists of a square platform with an oblong cella paved with flagstones the level of which is  $\pm$  23:70m. An L shaped altar slightly off-centre stands in the cella. A flight of four steps with an east-west orientation lead up to the platform (see Pl. XXII:1 for the reconstruction of this temple). Contemporary to the Chapelle are phases 1 and 2 of Unit C (fig. 21, blg XL). The

latter consists of several rooms built on the same axis. It is contemporary to blg XLIV of Area VII (fig. 22, phase 4). Because it is constructed at the northern slope of the south-east rocky knoll, blg XL appears at lower levels than contemporary blg XLIV (fig. 21a). A metal cache as well as a burnished plate belong to blg XL (see fig. 21).

(figs 19 & 21)

Period KIV: both Units A and C have been reproduced on the same lines with the addition of new structural elements. The Chapelle has a sort of peristyle fronting its northern facade (Pl. XXII: 2 and XXIV: 1) as well as a new flight of steps, superimposed on KIII steps but differently orientated (comp. Pl. XXII: 1 with 2, see fig. 19, analysis of phase 3). Two new rooms, probably three have been appended to the east side of blg XL (2nd plan from bottom: rooms n 2-m1, n2-n3 and wall m1). This blg ended in a great destruction, evidence of which is clearly demonstrated in sec. AA, fig. 21. In fact the walls have been demolished to below floor level. Perhaps the stones have been re-used in the walls of the subsequent period.

Periods JI/JII: phases 4 and 5 of the Chapelle are characterised by a new directional emphasis, where the cella with an off-centre altar faces eastwards. Wall q1 has become a low front porch wall in phase 4 (Pl. XXIV: 2) and later in phase 5, porch and wall were covered up with flagstones. A stone socle, probably for carrying an obelisk or the statue of a deity was placed on what used to be wall q1, along the same axis as the altar, (Pl. XXIII: 2). As a result of this simple new arrangement, the temple assumed a megaron style. Few



walls of the earlier period went out of use (walls a2, a3, h, sec. AA, and 91, sec. BB). The major point of interest concerning this temple is the concentration of an important group of metal and pottery objects between levels 25:00-25:40m. Several of these objects are accurately plotted on the plans. The pottery found in this temple is diagnostic for periods JI/JII. (All these types will be discussed in chap. II).

Subsequent to the destruction of blg XL (fig. 21, phase 3), two structural phases contemporary with these two periods appear. The first is represented by wall e and an extant part of a pavement el (sec. AA). In the second phase 5, blg XLI as well as the tower temple were constructed. Inside the latter a very rich collection of pottery which is similar to the group of the Chapelle is recorded. These two Units furnish the richest and most typical pottery of periods JI/JII.

AREA VI

Unit

A

B

C

PHASES

H

II

6

I

J

II

5

blg xli

5

I

4

4

GENERAL

DESTRUCTION

IV

3

3

Chapelle  
Orientale

III

2

2

1

II

1?

I

L

AREA VII, Ill 1.

Because this Area occupies the whole of the south-eastern rocky knoll, the blgs appear on more elevated levels than other adjacent Areas. This is why we get a more complete cross section of the different strata at Byblos beginning with the earliest occupation levels as represented by jar tombs and flimsy architecture, up till the destruction of the city at the end of period KIV (see Summary of this Area and fig. 25a).

Unit A. (sq. 17-18/22-23, fig. 22):

Phase 1: walls a2, a3, a4 and n2 represent the earliest building activity in this Unit. They have a different layout and orientation from the rest of the walls; furthermore, wall c3 of the succeeding phase appears to cut across wall n2 (sec. AA and bottom plan, dotted walls). The curved wall a3 could have been the end of an apsidal blg.

Objects:Sq. 18/22

17484

a coarse pottery sherd stamped with a geometric design.  
L. of sherd, 0.08.

Sq. 17/21

17475

a coarse handle incised with crossed lines.  
m.L.: 0.115.  
Level: 24:00-23:80m.

Phase 2: is represented by house XLII and probably the elements of a second as can be inferred from the extant fragments x, y, z, z2, (bottom plan). Walls o, p, n and n1 suggest that house XLII had been rebuilt and used for a long period (sec. BB). No objects can be associated with this phase.



Phase 3: overlying the fragmentary walls of phase 2, two blgs XLIIIIa, XLIIIIb, appear (2nd plan from bottom). Walls m, m1 of blg XLIIIIa must have been added later since they are not bonded to wall c2.

Phase 4: the two houses of phase 3 are now joined by the addition of walls k, c, L to the rear of the blgs forming one unified architectural body, blg XLIV, and leaving a spacious courtyard which is bounded at the south by wall i, (2nd plan from top). A bench or more probably the top of the projected foundation of wall f3 appears at a level between 25:40-25:20m suggesting a level to the floor of this phase at  $\pm$  25:30m. But whether this level applies to all the rooms of the blg is difficult to prove. Walls e1, f1, f2 appear to have been added later as they are not bonded to the rest of the walls and their size and masonry is very different also. No objects can be assigned to this phase.

Phase 5: apparently blg XLIV has been reproduced on exactly the same lines but with the addition of walls h, e1, f1 and f2 (the latter are discussed in phase 4 above). This blg however was subject to a great destruction, evidence of which appears in the demolition of most of its walls where a huge gap separates them from the structures above (b, c, d, sec. AA; j, k, L, sec. BB). The drastic change in the layout and orientation of the walls of the succeeding phase is a corroborative evidence for this destruction (phase 6). However, the few extant walls of this phase appear at the same horizontal level as the walls of the succeeding phase (see below). In this situation, a great deal of contamination

is possible and it is therefore difficult to associate specific objects to specific phases. But, because the objects listed below are found at much lower levels than the bases of the walls of the succeeding phase, and since their style and technique is identical to wares of pre-destruction levels, the following objects most probably belong to this phase.

Sq. 18/22:

- 12613 a sealing pattern composed of a frieze of tete-beche animals (wild goat, lion and an unidentified object between them), rolled horizontally on a red sherd with cross hatching. The core of the clay is grey and well fired.  
L. 0.105; w. of frieze 0.015.  
Level: 25:80-25:60m.

This object could also belong to Unit B, since the latter shares grid sq. 18/22 with this Unit.

Sq. 17/22:

- 11561 a hard limestone mortar; neatly cut and well smoothed.  
h. 0.12; d. 0.17.
- 11563 a shallow bowl, with a thick base and tapering rim.  
d. 0.097.  
Level: 26:20-26:00m.

Phase 6: lane n is now blocked by wall m (2nd plan from top) of blg XLI which reveals a total change in plan and orientation (top plan). Walls m, g of this blg appear on the same horizontal level as the extant walls of blg XLIV, phase 5. However, a huge gap separates these walls from the rest of the walls of the latter blg which have been decapitated to <sup>+</sup> 26:00m approximately (secs. AA, BB). The radical change in plan and layout of blg XLI and the blocking of lane n suggest a great change in the economy and life of Byblos at this stage. It was seen above in the analysis of fig. 21 (Area VI) that walls m, g were not built

immediately after the destruction of blg XL which is contemporary with blg XLIV but subsequent to an intermediate phase represented by wall e and pavement e1 (see fig. 21, analysis of phase 4, sec. AA). This intermediate phase does not appear in this Unit. Probably the following objects can be associated with this phase. Jug 9793 shows an interesting transitional character between two periods (see chap. II).

Sq. 17/22:

- 11284 two antithetical wild goats in hard blackish clay. Only the upper part is preserved.  
l. O.033.
- 11285 a combed sherd stamped with a pattern composed of two juxtaposed registers. In the first register, a man is holding a spear and thrusting it into the lion's withers. Only a small part is preserved from the second register where the forelimb and tail of the animal are shown in reverse.  
Level: 26:40-26:20m.
- 9793 juglet with an elongated body and pointed base; long narrow neck, rim is broken, so is the handle; a moulded cord is set at base of neck; vertical burnishing.  
h. O.165; m.d. O.067.

Sq. 17/21:

- 9770 a small jar with a flat base, wide neck which is broken and two circular handles at mid-body.  
h. O.21.  
Level: 27:00-26:80m.

Phase 7: the stratigraphical position of the walls of this phase as well as the typological features of the objects which could be associated with them (cup 8556 and bowl 8033) suggest that they post-date the third millennium.



Unit B (sqs. 18-19/21-23, fig. 23):

Phase 1: the earliest blg activity overlying bed-rock is a collection of heterogeneous walls differently orientated from the walls of the succeeding phase (bottom plan, dotted walls, secs.

AA-CC). A jarburial 217 is contemporary with these walls (sec. BB).

Phase 2: overlying the scattered walls of phase 1, the foundations of two houses XLVa, XLVb appear (bottom plan). In plan and orientation, these two blgs are similar; each consists of a hall with a small room marked off at the eastern end of the hall. A ledge or a bench e2 runs along the inner side of wall e1 giving an approximate level of  $\pm$  24:70m to the floor of blg XLVa. A passage at the end of wall b3 gives a similar level to blg XLVb (sec. AA). The elements of a third house represented by walls n2, n3 and k5 should be contemporary to the other two houses (bottom plan and sec. BB). The relation of wall k4 to this phase is not certain. The fortifications which belong to later phases appear to cut across an area m2, probably a courtyard, paved with two superimposed layers of cobblestones (bottom plan and sec. BB).

Objects:Sq. 19/22:

15715 a sherd of a jar on which is rolled a sealing pattern consisting of stylized human figures and animals.  
h. of frieze: 0.037; m.L. 0.121.  
Level: 24:60-24:40m.

Phase 3: is represented by blgs XLVI and XLVII (middle plan). The former incorporates houses XLVa, XLVb of phase 2 within its structure.

Room a1-b1 appears to overlie earlier walls a2, b2 which most probably

are contemporary to this phase. However, it is difficult to explain the gap which appears beneath the walls of this room. That it is the result of a localised disturbance is certain because no apparent change either in plan or orientation takes place. It is not possible to plot the floors of this blg because no occupational features appear to be recorded from it.

Blg XLVII must have been built at separate intervals because none of its walls is bonded to the other. Room nl-m1 must be later than this phase because wall nl appears to cut across wall L2 of this phase. Besides the thickness and masonry of the walls of that room set th apart from the rest. The floor level of this blg could be plotted at  $\pm$  25:30m according to the top level of the foundation of wall L2.

Sq. 18/21:

13244 a sherd with cross hatched decoration and a bucranium in relief.  
m.L.: 0.148  
Level: 25:40-25:20m.

Phase 4: represents a rebuilding stage and enlargement of phase 3 blgs. Walls a1, b1, a low partition wall x1 and pavement x are added to blg XLVI (sec. AA). Room m1-n1 must have been constructed in this phase. Its masonry and size shows great differences from the rest of the walls. Also it has been pointed out above that wall n1 cuts through wall L2 of phase 3. The thick foundations of room nl-m1 project about 0:50m to the inside forming a ledge that levels with the floor (sec. BB). The top level of this ledge is coloured as to be between 26:00-25:80m suggesting an approximate level of  $\pm$  25:90m to the floor of this room. Also the stone bases

in room L-L2 suggest a similar level. Pavement x shows that the floor of blg XLVI could be  $\pm 26;10m$ .

It was seen above that the earliest defences are later than phase 2 as they appear to cut through pavement m2 of that phase. Most probably it is during this phase that the first defensive wall had been built. Evidence for this comes from three steps leading to the top of the fortification, the lowest of which is coloured as to be between 25:60-25:40m. This indicates that the contemporary ground level is at  $\pm 25:50m$ . But it should be remembered that these steps are located in the extreme south of this Area where the rocky knoll starts to slope down (see analysis of fig. 24). In this case the contemporary ground level in this Unit could be at any point between 26:00-25:60m (sec. AA). Most of the objects which appear in compartments A and C (fig. 23) belong to this phase as their levels imply.

Sq. 19/21:

12317 a dark red juglet with an elongated body; long neck but rim is broken; traces of vertical burnishing on neck and base, cross hatching on body.  
h. 0.077.

Sq. 19/22:

12318 a pear shaped mace head in grey stone and vertically perforated.  
l. 0.075; m.d. 0.06.  
Level: 26:00-25:80m.

Sq. 18/21:

12299 a dark coloured juglet with an elongated body, almost cylindrical in shape with a flat base, relatively wide neck and flaring rim; handle from rim to shoulder; very thin walls.  
h. 0.118  
Level: 26:00-25:80m.



- 11569 a juglet with an elongated body, long narrow neck with a moulded cord at the base of the neck; long narrow stump base; cross hatching on body and vertical burnishing on neck and base.  
h. 0.28; m.d. 0.092.  
Level: 26:20-26:00m.

Sq. 18/22:

- 11572 a seal impression composed of a frieze of tete-beche animals (antelope alternating with a lion) rolled horizontally on a red burnished sherd.  
l. 0.108; w. of frieze: 0.016.  
Level: 26:20-26:00m.

Phase 5: evidence for the existence of this phase is seen in the newly constructed very thick walls (wall d: sec. AA; u2: sec. CC and s: top plan). Unfortunately no occupational features are recorded from these two blgs to help plot their floor levels. Probably the extant walls are merely the foundations of the walls of this phase. That this could be possible is seen from the way the walls have been razed to approximate levels. Wall m1 has probably been robbed since its stones are large and could be re-used in later blgs. Moreover, the gap which separates the blgs of this phase from the structures above indicate that these blgs were destroyed at the end of this phase. Probably the following two objects belong to this phase since they were found about 0:20-0:50m above the floors of phase 4.

Sq. 18/22:

- 11298 a cross hatched sherd on which a sealing pattern, composed of a frieze of tete-beche animals, is rolled horizontally.  
l. 0.089; w. of frieze 0.015.
- 11299 a juglet with a plump squat body and large flat base; handle and neck are broken; the latter most probably should have been long and cylindrical.  
h. 0.071; d. 0.078.  
Level: 26:40-26:20m.

Sq. 18/21:

10403 a deep blackish bowl with a flattened base which is slightly convex in the middle; curved sides and a slight constriction below a beaded rim.  
h. 0.05; d. 0.084.  
Level: 26:80-26:60m.

Phase 6: The ground level has risen considerably after the destruction of phase 5. The floors of this phase which are  $\pm$  27:70m, according to the extant pavements, approximately level with the top of fortification II (sec. AA, BB). It is most probable that during this phase the recessed wall, fortification III, was constructed (sec. AA and top plan). The architectural remains are extremely disturbed and no definite form can be distinguished. Broken walls and patches of pavements appear all over. Associated with these remains, new pottery starts to appear.

Sq. 18/21:

8570, lower parts of two pattern combed jars; no slip.  
8571 Not illustrated.  
h. 0.60: 0.80.

8923 a deep plate with a flat base, splayed sides and upright rim. Two thick straight lug handles are placed just below the rim.  
h. 0.048; d. 0.185.  
Level: 27:40-27:20m.

Sq. 18/22:

8578 a pot stand covered with a shiny red slip which projects largely to the inside below the rim.  
h. 0.055: m.d. 0.063.

8579 a deep goblet resting on a short pedestal base; sides slightly splaying: buff ware.  
h. 0.08.  
Level: 27:60-27:40m.

8067 bottom of a pattern combed jar. Not illustrated.  
h. 0.50.

8068 fragments of a big jug with a broad body, short narrow neck and a trefoil mouth; large flat base; decorated with creamy horizontal lines. Not illustrated (for similar jugs see discussion of periods JI/JII in chap. II).

8069 an elliptical shaped pot with a flat base; three lugs on upper body vertically perforated; neck is broken. It is decorated with red bands alternating with rilled bands as a result of deep striations by the wheel.  
h. 0.16: d. 0.14.

8070 a pot stand with concave sides.  
h. 0.025.  
Level: 27:80-27:60m.

Unit C (sq. 19-20/20-22, fig. 24: is separated from Unit B by lane o and from the peripheral southern region by lane p (Plan I).

Phase 1: is represented by jar burials 233-237 (sec. AA). No architecture can be associated with them.

#### Objects:

##### Sq. 20/22:

17510 a coarse sherd of a jar handle stamped with a spiral design. No measurements are given.  
Level: 24:00-23:80m.

Phase 2: a complex of small rooms with flimsy walls appears in this phase (bottom plan). A considerable gap separates these rooms from the tombs of phase 1 (sec. AA). The floors of these rooms cannot be plotted as no occupational features which usually give an indication of floor levels, are recorded. Most probably sherd 15715 is contemporary to this phase; it was described above in Unit B: fig. 23.

Phase 3: a gap separates phase 2 walls from the structures above.

The deep level of wall k (sec. AA) does not necessarily imply that it is contemporary with phase 2 and that it shows a continuity with the walls of the upper stratum. In fact what appears of wall k between



cote 25:00-24:00m is most probably its foundation. This is seen from the passageway located at the southern end of wall k, the level of which should be above 25:00m. The other wall which may suggest a continuity with later walls is cl; but the top of that wall is not known as it is not coloured (see plan cote 26:00-25:00m, grid. sq. 20/21). The rest of the walls of phase 2, a1, f, b2, d2 are separated from the walls above by a considerable gap (sec. AA). In sec. BB, walls q1, t and s show a similar situation. This disposition cannot be considered as the result of an intrusion from above such as carving a pit for example, because it is too general. More likely, it indicates a short chronological gap. This phase therefore will be assigned to a probable demolished level.

Phase 4: is represented by blg L which consists of several small rooms and probably a courtyard bounded by wall u (middle plan). Unfortunately, no occupational features are recorded from this blg to indicate its probable floor level. But according to the extant walls which appear in sec. BB, the floor of blg L could not be lower than 25:60m. Four steps built against fortification I, the lowest of which is coloured as to be between 25:60-25:40m indicate that the ground level could be  $\pm$  25:50m (middle plan and sec. AA). The extant top of wall I is  $\pm$  26:80m (top plan and sec. AA). It is most probable that this wall is contemporary with this phase.

Sq. 20/21:

- 13271 a ?bronze pin with a rolled head.  
1. O.112.

Sq. 19/20:

- 14342 a shallow bowl with rounded base, thick walls especially at the middle and tapering rim.  
d. 0.124.  
Level: 25:00-24:80m.
- 13536 a small bowl with a flattened base, curved walls and outrolled rim.  
h. 0.054; d. 0.083.  
Level: 25:20-25:00m.
- 12913 a small bowl similar to the above but base is rounded with a slight omphalos.  
h. 0.055.

Sq. 20/19:

- 12912 a jug with a long stump base, elongated body and handle from rim to shoulder. This jug was found under a wall parallel to blg XLIX.  
h. 0.222  
Level: 25:60-25:40m.

Phase 5: a new blg LI appears in this phase using earlier walls as foundations. This blg is characterized by spacious rooms in contrast to the small rooms of phase 4 (top plan). It is interesting to note how a complete change can be achieved in the inner arrangement of a blg merely by discarding earlier partition walls. In sec. BB, a gap appears between wall n of this phase and the walls below. This gap is most probably the result of an intrusive pit because the apparent continuity displayed in the walls of sec. AA cannot be accidental. A bench running along the inner side of wall n2 is coloured as to be between 26:60-26:40m suggesting an approximate level of  $\pm$  26:50m to the floor of that room. The southern rooms could perhaps be slightly lower because this blg is situated on the southern slope of the rocky knoll.

Contemporary to this phase is fortification II, which overlies wall I,

slightly receding to the outside (sec. AA and top plan; comp.

with Pl. XXI: 1-2). The extant top of this wall is recorded

at  $\pm$  27:60m (sec. AA).

Sq. 20/20:

12646 a small hemispherical bowl with plain rim. Diagonal hatching inside.

h. 0.04: d. 0.087.

12647 a shallow bowl with regular walls and plain rim.

h. 0.03: d. 0.106.

Level: 25:80-25:60m.

Phase 6: walls b, c (sec. AA) and part of p (top plan) of phase 5

are re'used in this phase. New walls have been constructed (cross

hatched walls on top plan). A big patch of pavement e serving as

floor for this phase at  $\pm$  27:50m, covers walls d, j (sec. AA) and

n, p (sec. BB) of phase 5. The floor of this phase is at an

approximate level to the top of fortification II (sec. AA). The

recessed wall, fortification III, which overlies both walls I and II

receding still further to the outside, should be contemporary to this

phase (sec. AA and top plan).

The following objects which are recorded from different levels beneath

pavement e are all attributed to this phase because they form a more

or less homogeneous group.

Sq. 20/22:

11589 a bronze torque, one end is broken, the other is folded over in the form of a serpent.

d. 0.135

11591, two pot stands with short concave bodies and flaring rims.

11592 h. 0.042 and 0.04.

Level: 26:20-26:00m.



Sq. 19/21:

- 11311 two confronting birds based on a thick cylindrical base; wings are striated in imitation of feathers; red burnished clay. Probably served as a handle or an ornament to a vase.  
h. 0.045  
Level: 26:40-26:20m.
- 10981 a ~~big~~ bronze bracelet with a circular section. Not illustrated.  
d. 0.06
- 10982 a long and heavy bronze pin with a swollen head; the shank is thinly striated between head and perforation.
- 10983 a veined bronze dagger; butt is broken, the sides are damaged and indented.  
l. 0.14.  
or<sup>1</sup>  
  
a bronze dagger blade with a tapering edge and a three riveted butt; it has a prominent middle rib.  
l. 0.242  
Level: 26:60-26:40m
- The above three objects were found together covered with dark and sticky earth.

Sq. 20/21:

- 10976 a deep bowl standing on a button base with very thin splaying sides; rim is slightly rolled. It is covered with a lustrous red slip leaving a band in reserve where the deep spiral striations of the wheel form a contrasting pattern to the smooth surface of the bowl. The slip covers a band about 0.003m inside below the rim.  
h. 0.062  
Level: 26:60-26:40m
- 9803 a long flat bronze chisel engraved on one side with a stylized head of a stag. The butt and cutting edge are rounded.  
l. 0.173; m.w. 0.038; m.th. 0.0045  
Level: 27:00-26:80m.

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1 See FB, vol. III, fig. 425, pp. 402 and 410. The numbers are misplaced below the daggers because the description in the text contrasts with the drawings shown on p. 402; it is not clear therefore which is the correct object.

Unit D (sqs. 16-18/18-19; fig. 25):

Phase 1: the earliest occupational levels in this Unit are represented by blg LII which shows a developed stage in both architectural style and masonry techniques (bottom plan; cf. chap. III, sections B and C). The top of the foundations of wall p2 project on both sides of the wall at a level between 24:80-24:60m suggesting an approximate level of  $\pm$  24:70m to the floor of this blg.

Phase 2: blg LII has been rebuilt in this phase. Evidence for this comes from walls b6 (sec. AA), L3, z (sec. BB) and x1 (bottom plan). Probably wall L2 of phase 1 has been robbed and its stones re-used in this phase.

Objects:Sq. 17/19:

17133 a globular pot with a large mouth, everted rim and a small handle from rim to shoulder.  
h. 0.20  
Level: it was found between 25:00-24:00m after the demolition of all walls within this one metre depth.

Phase 3: a new blg LIII showing a slight shift in orientation, overlies blg LII of phase 2 (middle plan). North-west of this blg, walls a2, b4 forming almost a right angle corner, seem to be of certain significance because they were continuously reproduced on the same lines. Dunand suggested that a cultic installation exists in the vicinity of these walls.<sup>2</sup> The constant rebuilding of these two walls supports his suggestion. The walls of blg LIII overlap with walls of phase 2 (sec. BB). However, in sec. AA a gap appears mainly between

walls a2-b4 of this phase and those of blg LII. This gap could perhaps be the result of an intrusion from above. Considering the cultic nature of the area occupied by walls a2-b4, it is not surprising that the builders of this phase would carve pits perhaps for ritual purposes.

Sq. 17/17:

13512 a small jar with almost cylindrical body and large flat base. The neck is short and largely splaying at the rim. Two large handles are placed at mid-body.  
h. 0.285  
Level: 25:20-25:00m

Phase 4: the architectural sequence of this Unit is very difficult to interpret and especially at this stage where walls of different phases appear at the same horizontal level. A few of these walls are broken, others cannot be related to any coherent plan (top plan). Blg LIV consisting of a sq. room h-p shows a considerable shift in orientation. The broken walls n1-n2 are in harmony with blg LIV. These two structures should be contemporary. The right angle corner b3, north of blg LIV, is most probably contemporary with this phase. The following objects constitute a bronze cache that was found against wall b3. Most probably, their level indicates the ground level of this phase because it is reported that this cache was found en pleine terre contre un mur. (see FBI, pp. 454-455).

Sq. 17/18:

11537 a long bronze pin with a swollen head whose sides are splayed. It has a small perforation below the head.  
l. 0.142

11538 a flat and elongated bronze axe with a large perforation at the butt.  
l. 0.20; w. of cutting edge 0.061: th. 0.015.



- 11539 a flat elongated bronze axe with a narrow rounded butt and slightly splayed edges.  
l. 0.203: w. of cutting edge 0.058: th. 0.007
- 11540 a flat bronze dagger blade without a middle rib. It has a flat strong tang with two rivet holes.  
l. 0.245
- 11541 a bronze dagger blade with a middle rib; the base is rounded developing to a flat short tang. It has three rivet holes, one in the tang, the other two in the base.  
l. 0.208
- 11542 six limestone pebbles. Not illustrated.  
l. from 0.038-0.055
- 11547 the front of a bronze animal figurine with horns curved to the back.  
l. 0.032: H. 0.03

Sq. 17/19:

- 10932 a limestone block carved in the shape of a boat resting on a low plinth. Not illustrated here.  
l. 0.19: m.w. 0.06: h. 0.103
- 10933 a small blackish jar with an elongated body and flat base. It has a wide short neck with extremely splaying rim. It is decorated with five incised lines below the neck.  
h. 0.38  
Level: 26:60-26:40m

Architecture above the levels of this phase is incomprehensible. A few objects (especially jug 9783) suggest that there are great intrusions from later periods.

SUMMARY SEQUENCE TO AREA VII. (table 7).

Period L: it has been seen throughout this review that the jar burials are the earliest evidence (encountered in the sections) of settlement at Byblos. Similarly, in this Area burials 217 (fig. 23) and 233-237 (fig. 24) represent the earliest occupation levels above bedrock (fig. 25a). Architecture which could be associated with these burials is very fragmentary and has no definite orientation (figs. 22-23, phase 1). There is a suggestion of an apsidal house (fig. 22). Associated with these levels are coarse hand-made pottery sherds of jar handles stamped with geometric and spiral motifs (17484: fig. 22, 17510: fig. 24).

Period KI: is well illustrated in this Area by blgs XLII (fig. 22, phase 2) and XLVa, XLVb (fig. 23, phase 2) which show a resemblance in their ground plan to blg I of fig. 1. Blg XLVIII (fig. 24, phase 2) is contemporary to the other two blgs of this period. Byblos KI is not represented in Unit D. (fig. 25).

A stratigraphical break appears between the levels of this period and the earlier stratum, period L (figs. 23: secs. BB-CC, 24: sec. AA and fig. 25a). It is not possible to determine if this break represents a hiatus in the occupation of the site. Evidence from Area VI (figs. 16, 16a), though showing a radical change between the two periods, rules out the possibility of a hiatus. Cylinder seals carved with Mesopotamian motifs, now replace the geometric stamp seals of period L (fig. 24: comp. 15715 with 17510 and with fig. 22: 17484).

Evidence from fig. 23 shows that Byblos was not fortified during this period (analysis of phase 2).

Period KII: the basic structural layout of the blgs of period KI are preserved and apparently reproduced in this period with minor changes in their spatial arrangements (fig. 23, middle plan).

However, a marked development in blg techniques where straight walls and sharp corners replace the earlier flimsy walls, is clearly displayed in all blgs of this period (blg XLV of period KI had a curved corner, fig. 23, bottom plan). Evidence for this period is lacking in Unit C (fig. 24) where a gap separates period KI walls from those of stratum III or period KIII (see under period KIII). The gap which appears in fig. 23, sec. AA, between floors 2 and 4 should be the result of a local disturbance caused by an intrusive pit for example, because continuity is confirmed in secs. BB-CC of the same figure. However, Byblos KII is best illustrated in fig. 22 where the bases of the walls of two well defined houses overlap with the walls of period KI. These two houses are characterized by the introduction of a courtyard and the element of a porch (fig. 22: blgs XLIIIa, XLIIIb, phase 3). That blg LII (fig. 25) could be contemporary to this period is deduced from its well-defined architectural form, the evidence of a courtyard or a porch, and from the sequence that Unit displays in its subsequent strata.

Period KIII: the most important aspect of this period is the construction of the first fortification system at Byblos. Evidence for this appears



in Unit C, where a succession of three superimposed walls are illustrated (fig. 24: top plan and sec. AA comp. with Pl. XX).

A flight of four steps built against the first fortification wall gives an indication of the ground level at the time wall I was constructed (fig. 24: middle plan and sec. AA). The level recorded for the lowest step of wall I synchronizes with floor 4 of blg L, showing that these two architectural works are contemporary. Incidentally floor 4 (representing phase 4 of fig. 24) appears after a gap where the remains of period KII are missing. Phase 4 of fig. 24 therefore belongs to this period, so does the first fortification wall. The stratigraphical records from the other three Units display a remarkable continuity between the walls of period KII and KIII (fig. 25a). The gap featuring in fig. 23: sec. AA, has been attributed in the discussion above (period KII) to probably an intrusive pit since continuity is clearly demonstrated in the other two secs. BB-CC. Blg LII (fig. 25, phase 2) has been rebuilt on the same lines. Blg XLIV incorporates both KII houses (XLIIIIa, XLIIIIb) within its structure adding walls k-l to the rear and leaving a spacious courtyard to the south (fig. 22, phase 4; see also discussion in chap. III, section B). In fig. 23, phase 4, room nl-ml has been added to blg XLVII; a new partition wall x1 and pavement x appear in blg XLVI. Several occupational features are recorded from these two blgs suggesting levels of  $\pm 26:10\text{m}$ ,  $\pm 25:90\text{m}$  to their floors (secs. AA, BB). All these blgs show an astonishing regularity along their eastern sides facing the defensive wall I. Road

z which is 2:00m wide separates these blgs from the fortification (Plan I).

Period KIV: at the end of period KIII, a great blg activity is clearly marked in the stratigraphy of all Units. In fig. 24 (phase 5) a new blg LI characterized by spacious rooms and solid walls reproduces the basic walls of blg L of period KIII (sec. AA).

It is interesting to note that the new look of blg LI has been achieved merely by discarding earlier partition walls. A new blg LIII also characterized by solid walls and spaciousness, overlies the walls of blg LII of periods KII/KIII (fig. 25: phase 3). Blg XLVI (fig. 23: phase 5) has been rebuilt on the same lines adding extra thickness to its walls (note walls d, s, sec. AA, top plan). The extant remains of blg XLIV show rebuilding at this stage with the addition of a new wall h (fig. 22, phase 5, sec. BB).

Contemporary to these activities, a new defensive wall II overlying wall I and slightly receding from its edge had been built (fig. 24, sec. AA, analysis of phase 5).

All the blgs discussed above show evidence of destruction and great disturbances at the end of this period (see below under JI/JII).

Periods JI/JII: subsequent to the systematic destruction of KIV blgs, new walls with a completely different layout and orientation appear. In Unit A, the extant walls of periods KIV and JI/JII appear on the same horizontal level (fig. 22, phase 6, secs. AA-BB). Wall m of blg XLI blocks lane n which was in use all through periods KII to KIV (2nd plan from top, fig. 2.2). An impressive gap appears between

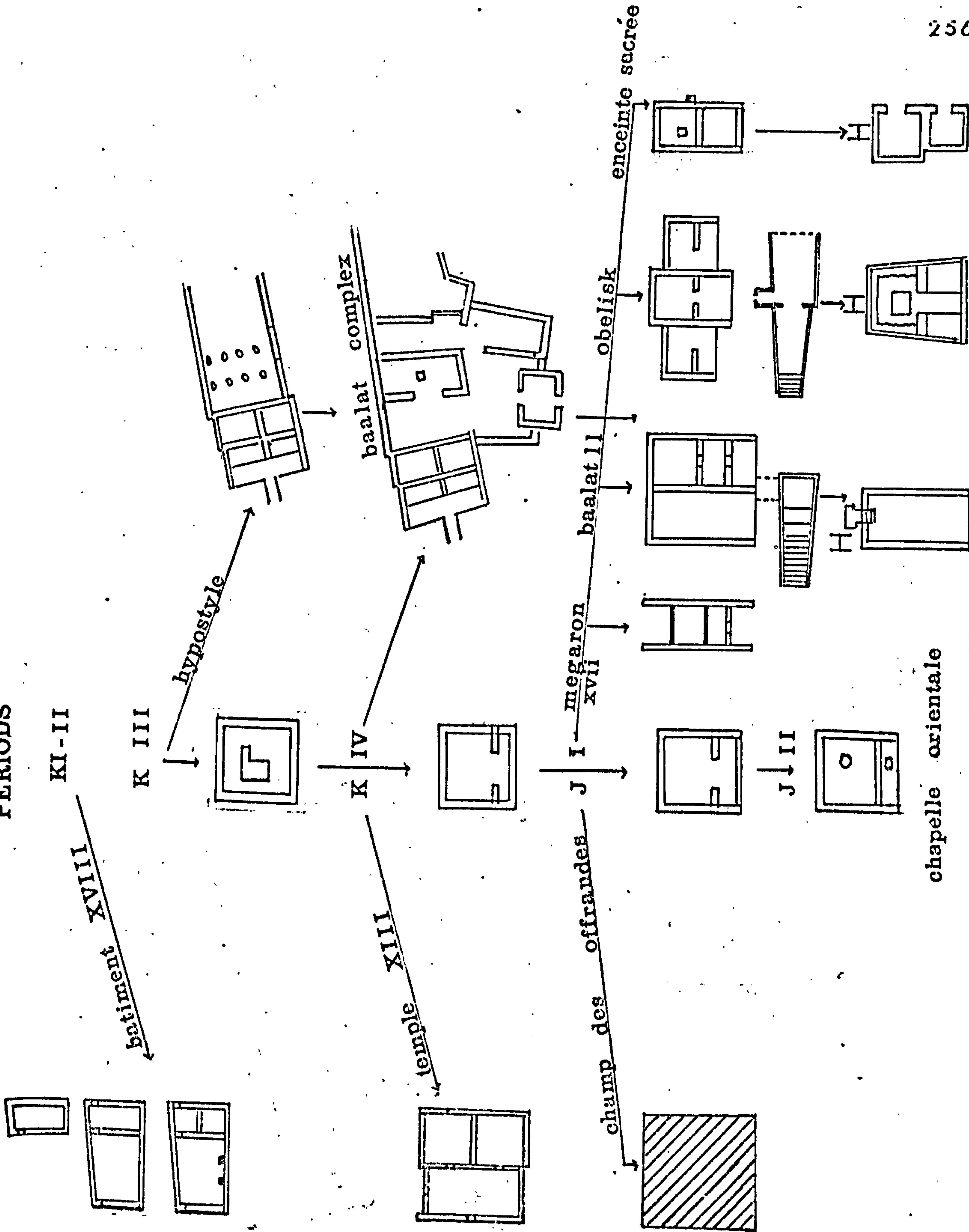
the walls of blgs XLVI, XLVII of periods KIII/KIV and the extant remains of phase 6 (fig. 23, secs. AA-BB, top plan). An important group of pottery vessels which is diagnostic for post destruction levels at Byblos, is associated with phase 6 of fig. 23. A recessed wall, fortification III, is most probably contemporary with the latter phase. The stratigraphical sequence of the defences is in this case happily corroborated by pottery finds. In Area VI a blg designated the tower temple and forming an integral part of the structure of the recessed wall III, yielded a group of pottery some of which is identical to the group associated with phase 6 of fig. 23 (see fig. 21, phases 4/5). Unit C (fig. 24, phase 6) shows a re-use of earlier walls as well as the construction of new ones (top plan, cross hatched walls). An extant pavement e belonging to the post destruction phase 6, is at an approximate level to the top of fortification II. This shows that pavement e is later than fortification II and should therefore be contemporary with the recessed wall III (fig. 24, sec. AA and top plan). A shift in the layout and planning of Unit D at the end of period KIV is clearly displayed by blg LIV (fig. 25, top plan, phase 4). However, the extant remains of this Unit are extremely disturbed at this stage, and it is very difficult to unravel their complexities.



## AREA VII

Unit	A	B	C	D	
← PHASES →					
H					
J	II blg xli 6				
	I	6	6	4	
K	IV	5	5	blg LI 5	3
	III	blg xliiv 4	blgs xlv xlvi xlvi 4	blg L 4	2 1
	II	3	3	missing phase 3	
	I	2	2	2	
	L	1	1 217	1 233 237	

PERIODS



III 2 A schematized diagram of the Byblite temples

## Chapter II.

### The Archaeological Periods of Byblos.

The ceramic industries presented in this chapter are also illustrated and recorded in figs. 1-- 25. These objects are assigned to phases isolated and analysed in Chapter IB. Contemporary phases in each Area are then grouped under a relative chronological scheme<sup>1</sup> encompassing the earliest occupational levels encountered above virgin soil (period L)<sup>2</sup>, until the destruction of the city at the end of period JII (see Summaries I - VII and especially Summary I).

The different phases which form the backbone of the present chronological scheme are, as it was seen above, based on the schematic sections of figs. 1 - 25. Evidently, these phases do not present a precise analysis of the stratigraphy of Byblos, rather they offer a diagnostic survey of the latter. Nevertheless, the value of this diagnosis should not be underrated. Salient stratigraphic features such as the destruction levels at the end of period KIV are clearly illustrated in figs. 1 - 25 (see also tables 1 - 7). The pottery related to these levels (Pl. LIII - LXI) is of major significance because it sheds a new light on an extremely controversial era in the history of the ancient

1. See analysis of fig. 1 - 25, chap. IB.

2. The earliest levels encountered in the reconstructed sections and assigned to period L, do not necessarily represent the earliest occupational strata at Byblos. In fact earlier settlements have been reported from the site but these early communities occupied very restricted areas of Byblos which do not figure on the published plans. See infra, footnote 6.



Near East.

The time spanned by periods KI to JII<sup>3</sup> can only be relatively estimated through correlations with parallel foreign material cultures, (see chap. IV). Elsewhere archaeologists are able to construct a time scale based on careful observations and recordings of the thicknesses of their successive strata and the identification of their various blg levels.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, detailed stratigraphic data are absent from the publications of Byblos; therefore, the only means of establishing a relatively coherent sequence to the site is by reconstructing schematic sections such as is undertaken in this study.

In this chapter the typology and development of the various ceramic<sup>5</sup>

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3. Period L is discussed briefly in this chap. but is left out of the second part of this thesis. The reasons for this are clearly stated under period L. See also supra, Summary to Area IV.
4. The authoritative studies on the techniques of stratigraphical digging remains Kenyon's, Beginning in Archaeology, and Wheeler's Archaeology From the Earth. See also the methods used by C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, pp. 39 - 40; P. Delougaz, in Pre-Sargonid Temples, p. 135: and the discussions of Th. Burton-Brown in Diffusion of Ideas, Vol. 1.
5. The metal industry is left out of discussion in this thesis because it constitutes a subject for a thesis in itself, beyond the scope of this study. Besides, since detailed scientific analysis of the metals of Byblos and other sites is not available, their value for chronological purposes is greatly reduced.

groups will be discussed according to their location within the stratigraphical and chronological sequence developed in chap. IB.

Period L:<sup>6</sup> it is not the intention of the present writer to give a detailed survey of the L period for the following reasons:

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6. Unfortunately, the levels prior to the L period do not appear on the published plans because those levels occupy only restricted parts of the site, see below. The only available stratigraphical information on those early periods is found in the interim reports of Dunand. Cauvin, who made a recent study on the Neolithic of Byblos, confined his study to typology, see his book, Les Outillages Néolithiques de Byblos and du Littoral Libanais, FB V (1966). It would have been of great interest had he been able to trace the stratigraphical evolution or change, from the Néolithique Recent to the Énéolithique Ancien. However, I will give here a resume of the stratigraphical sequence of the pre-L periods as proposed by Dunand since his interpretation is the only available one:
  - a. the earliest settlement on the mound goes back to Neolithic times, where only a restricted part of Byblos was occupied, i.e. the western edge of the acropolis. Dunand distinguishes three main periods in the Neolithic, the latest of which is the Néolithique Recent, otherwise called Énéolithique A (see Dunand, BMB XII (1955) p. 22, footnote 1: BMB XIV (1957) p. 70-72: Supplement (1966) col. 1148 - 1152). For Énéolithique A, see Idem. Congres International (1948) pp. 72-73: RB (1950 pp. 583 ff.: BMB XII (1955) p. 10-11.
  - b. Néolithique Recent is followed by an intermediate stage which Dunand calls Énéolithique Ancien. This settlement had spread beyond the limits of the Néolithique Recent: its eastern boundary is the Sacred Well area. The date assigned by the excavator to this level is 3800 - 3650 BC. Three hundred jar tombs are reported to have been found from this period. Main Characteristics: (Pl. XXXVII). Large monocellular houses with mud-brick walls built on stone foundations. Large storage jars first appear in this period; they were used primarily for domestic purposes and subsequently as jar burials. These jars usually have corrugated surfaces and multiple handles set vertically along the sides. The churn makes its first appearance as well as bone and metal works. Primitive burnishing



- a. because only a small percentage of the tomb pottery has been published,<sup>7</sup> conclusions regarding this period are apt to be incomplete.
- b. it has been confirmed as a result of stratigraphical analysis made in chap. IB, that period L precedes the KI period and usually a division both stratigraphical and typological can be marked between the two periods (see figs. 13a - 13b, 25a, phase 1 of figs. 4 - 6, 13 - 16 and 22 - 24 for stratigraphy; comp. Pl. XXXVIII - XLII with Pl. XLVII for typology). Comparable wares to the KI period pottery are found in 1st Dynasty Egyptian tombs. This means that period L antedates the third millennium<sup>9</sup> which is the subject of this study.

occurs on certain vessels but the use of a red slip seems to be more dominant (see Dunand, in BMB XVI (1961) p. 78: BMB XVII (1964), pp. 29 - 31: Supplement (1966) col. 1152). This period is followed by the Eneolithique Recent, otherwise called Enéolithique B which is the counterpart of the L period being discussed in this study. See above under period L.

- 7 Only the contents of some of the funerary caves and the jar tombs which were found in the north eastern part of the city are published and illustrated, see FB I, Pl. CXCI-CC, pp. 434 - 449. From other parts of the city only the contents of jar tomb 272 are published. See FB II, Atlas, Pl. CLXXXVII and Pl. XLIII in this study.
- 8 For the earliest occurrence of foreign pottery in 1st Dynasty Egyptian tombs, see chap. IV: A.
- 9 In this work I follow the CAH2 dates for the beginning of the 1st Egyptian Dynasty. See I.E.S. Edwards in CAH2 25 (1964).



However, on the strength of the valuable stratigraphical information obtained from chap. IB, and on the evidence of published pottery, a general survey of the L period will be attempted here to serve as an introduction to the history of Byblos in the third millennium. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that this survey is subject to change in the event of new publications.<sup>10</sup> This period therefore will not be discussed in the second part of this thesis, for the reasons stated above.

#### Main Characteristics<sup>11</sup>

The architectural remains are very sparse but one may conclude that the site was thickly populated during this period because two thousand jar burials<sup>12</sup> as well as nine funerary caves were discovered.<sup>13</sup> The culture of this period is mainly known from the contents of these

10 M. Dunand's vol. on the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Byblos has recently appeared in print but too late to be incorporated in this study.

11 Description of the L period culture is based on the reconstructed secs. as well as on information published by the excavator of Byblos: for the references see footnote 7.

12 M. Dunand, in MUSJ, XXXVII (1960) p. 41

13 Other caves had been in use during period L, but these had been crushed by the weight of debris heaped over them during the Crusaders' period, for the purpose of rectifying the slope of the mound. Se. P. Montet, BE, pp. 239 - 240.

burials. Only one feature of the cultural aspects of the L period comes from settlements: this is the discovery in the L levels of coarse hand-made pottery sherds stamped with seals bearing geometric designs (Pl. XLIV).

#### Burials.

There is ample evidence to suggest that two different people with different burial customs lived at Byblos during period L. Group A practised single burials in big domestic jars. An area on the shoulder of the jar was pricked peripherally and removed for the purpose of interring the body (Pl. XLII), which is usually in a flexed position. Each burial is usually equipped with a few pottery vessels. Group B, on the other hand, practised multiple successive burials in caves. Both articulated and disarticulated skeletons were found. The most likely explanation is that after the flesh had decayed, the bones were ruthlessly pushed aside to make room for the new burials which were laid in an extended position. Only the skulls received a careful treatment, for they were found neatly grouped along the walls.

That there was a certain degree of assimilation between the two groups is evident from the similarity of certain types of their pottery (see below under Features of Similarity). Furthermore, a few jar burials were found in the caves among articulated and disarticulated bones. However, it is difficult to define the exact relationships between the two groups, or estimate the duration of their contemporaneity. Had they lived side by side from the beginning and continued to do so

till the end of period L, or did the people with cave burial tradition gradually replace the group that practised burials in pottery jars?

It is more likely that group A with the jar burial tradition had settled earlier on the site because the culture of the latter group appears to be linked or might have developed from an earlier stratum, the Eneolithique Ancien.<sup>14</sup> Cultural features of that early stratum such as jar burials, bone and ivory industries re-appear in period L (comp. Pl. XXXVII with Pl. XLII - XLIII). Even the churn of the Eneolithique Ancien survives to period L but in a degenerate form (comp. Pl. XXXVII with Pl. XXXIX, 57/7). Also the use of a dark red slip on domestic funerary jars is common in both periods.

It would be inappropriate to arrange the meagre selection on Pl. XXXVIII - XLII into types as many other groups are still missing.<sup>15</sup> The essential point here is to show the similarities between both caves and jar burials, and to neutralise the suggestion made by certain archaeologists<sup>16</sup> to the effect that these burials belong culturally and chronologically to the EM-MB or MBI of Palestine. That this attribution is a fallacy has been stratigraphically proved in chapter IB.<sup>17</sup> It was made clear above that the jar burials of period L were

14. See supra footnote 6b and Pl. XXXVII in this study.

15. Dunand refers jokingly to missing objects and records from this area as war casualties.

16. See Summary to Area IV, footnote 3.

17. See supra chap. IB, Summaries of Areas I, IV, V and VII.



found above virgin soil underlying the KI stratum: This latter is dated by its pottery to the First Egyptian Dynasty.<sup>18</sup> The L period pottery is quite distinctive and is similar to the Proto-Urban or Late Chalcolithic of Palestine and Syro/Anatolia.<sup>19</sup> Besides, it was never found contaminated with later pottery from either the KI to KIV or JI/JII periods.

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18. See infra chap. IV, A for a comparative study of pottery between Byblos and Egypt.

19. The main bulk of this period's pottery is related to Proto-Urban A Palestine. Examples of this class are:

- a. Pots with high loop handles (Pls. XXXIX: 5649, XL: 6695, 6696); comp. these with Jericho I, fig. 12, 13 (tomb A94); Farah, RB (1952) fig. 11: 1 p. 579, tomb 14.
- b. Jugs with ear lug handles (Pls. XL: 6689, XLI: 5857), comp. with 'Ai Tombs, Pl. XI: 767, 764, 949; Jericho I fig. 14: 7 (tomb A94), fig. 18: 11 (tomb A114); fig. 22: 13 (tomb A13, levels II and I); Farah, RB, 56 (1949) fig. 8: 27-28; Farah, RB, 56 (1949) fig. 8: 27-28.
- c. Pots with basket handles (plain red-slipped or buff, Pls. XL: 6688, XLI: 5861), comp. with P. Lapp in NEATC, p. 107; 'Ai Tombs, Pl. XV: 2, 545.
- d. Jugs with diagonal handles (Pl. XLI: 5858), comp. with Megiddo Tombs, Pl. 5: 1 (tomb 1122), Pl. 3: 7 (tomb 903 upper); Ancient Pottery, photo 27, p. 43.
- e. Carinate bowls (Pls. XXXVII: 5639, 5751, XLI: 5649) comp. with Farah, RB, 55 (1948) fig. 5: 25, RB, 59 (1952) fig. 12: 1 (tomb 14); Megiddo Tombs, Pl. 3: 4 (tomb 903 upper).
- f. Hole-mouth jars (Pl. XLII: 5878) comp. with Megiddo Tombs, Pl. 3: 36 (tomb 903 lower). The ivory works which are exclusive to jar tombs could be related to the Beersheba culture esp. figurine no. 5740. Their appearance at Byblos in a context which is contemporary with the Proto-Urban culture of Palestine is of extreme importance and deserves a separate study.

On the other hand, the Intermediate pottery of Byblos (classified under letters JI/JII) which appears after the destruction of the KIV levels, is well known now as a result of the stratigraphical analysis made in chap. IB. This pottery is partly contemporary with the EB-MB or MBI of Palestine<sup>20</sup> and it bears no resemblance whatsoever to the L period pottery (comp. Pls. XXVIII - XLII with LIII - LXI).

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The Anatolian connections can be seen in the following:

- a. Pedestal or cup-like bases (Pls. XXXVII: 5809, 5636, XXXIX: 5555, 5725, XL: 6691) comp. with Alishar, figs. 62, 72, 77 and Pl. VII left column; Mersin, fig. 119: 1, 3, 4, 15, 19 - 21 (level XIIA); Alaca Huyuk, AJA, 5 (1947) Pl. XXXIIIC.
- b. Carinated pots (Pl. XXXIX: 5892) comp. with Alishar, Pl. VII: c2747, cl735, el619; Buyuk-Gullucek, Belleten XII (1948) fig. 43 bottom right.
- c. Exotic handles (Pl. LXXI: 2a) comp. with Buyuk-Gullucek, op.cit., fig. 47; Mersin, fig. 93: 7, 8, 11 - 12: Alaca Huyuk Kazisi, Pl. 151.

The pots with fenestrated bases are made of creamy or light beige colour and not of dark grey as the Palestinian or Anatolian pots.

Finally it should be noted that the practice of jar burials is a common tradition in Syria and Anatolia, see for e.g. Fugmann, Hama, pp. 26ff; L. Woolley, Carcemish III, p. 215; H. Goldman, Tarsus II, pp. 7 - 8; H.H. von der Osten, Alishar, pp. 42ff.

20.

See infra chap. IVB.



According to published evidence, metal, bone and ivory works seem to be exclusive to jar burials. These will be discussed first. The pottery evidence will be assessed later.

#### Metal.

Out of hundreds of jar burials only twenty are reported to have contained silver earrings and rings.<sup>21</sup>

Five jars only contained silver or copper frontlets.<sup>22</sup>

Eight burials three of which are not published, yielded copper daggers<sup>23</sup> (P. XLIII).

#### Bone and Ivory.

Only four jars two of which belong to an earlier stratum, the Énéolithique Ancien, are reported to have contained bone or ivory works<sup>24</sup> (cf. Pl. XXXVII, 2 and 4 with Pl. XLIII nos. 18549 - 553 and 5740).

21. The number of each burial will be placed first, then the no. of object found in the jar will be put inside parentheses:

Burials 19(5454), 23(5503), 29(5576), 30(5627), 42(5747), 77(5816), 97(6742), 115(5516), 117(5539), 119(5551), 145(5616), 147(5715), 153(5732), 163(5844), 174(5911), 196(5966), 203(6732), 247(17445-446), 249(17583), 272(1854).

22. Burials 77(5813), 145(5615), 163(5841), 247(17447), and jar 631. For the contents of the latter jar see M. Chehab, BMB IX (1949-50) pp. 75-83, Pl. II.

23. Burial 84 contained five daggers (6772-776) and two limestone maceheads. Burials 46, 56, 169 and 171 contained a dagger each. For the three unpublished burials see BMB XIII (1956) p. 82.

24. The two jars of period L are 272 and 146. See above. For the other two jars of the Énéolithique Ancien see Dunand, BMB XVII (1964) Pl. I.



The most sensational finds were discovered in burial 272. These finds constitute five ivory items, an ostrich egg as well as several silver rings<sup>25</sup> (Pl. XLIII, nos. 18549 - 18553).

An interesting female figurine made of bone as well as remains of probably a bone wand, were found in burial 146 (Pl. XLIII: 5740).

#### Pottery.

The pottery from both the jar burials and the caves fall into several distinct groups, but they all share the following characteristics:

All vessels are hand made with the necks carefully moulded and smoothed.

The clay is coarse, tempered with either chaff or rough grits of stone.

The colour varies from red to light or creamy pink.

This pottery is baked in medium fire, and the walls of the vessels which are thick often crumble easily. Some vessels are better fired with smoother and lighter clay.

There is no evidence whatsoever of the use of paint to decorate vessels.

Many of the vessels are red slipped while a few are primitively burnished.

#### Decoration.

Mainly consists of incised chevrons (Pls. XXXVIII: 5662; XXXIX: 5555: XL: 6696, 6700 and 6688; XLI: 5857 and 5861).

Raised dots (Pl. XXXVIII: 5809; XL: 6688 and XLI: 5652).

Plastic relief and exotic handles (Pl. XLI: 5647; LXXI: 2 left).

Incised circles obtained by impressing the end of a reed on the clay before firing (Pl. XXXVIII: 5636).

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25.

For the other finds from tomb 272 which are not illustrated on Pl. XLIII, see FB II, Atlas, Pl. CLXXXVII.

Features of similarity between pottery from both jar and  
cave burials:

1. Pots with cup-like bases or pedestals (cf. Pls. XXXVIII: 5809, 5636 and XXXIX: 5555, 5725 with XL: 6691).
2. Pots with high handles (cf. Pl. XXXIX: 5469 with XL: 6695, 6696).
3. Globular pots (cf. Pl. XXXIX: 5692 with XL: 6701).
4. Pots with basket handles (cf. Pl. XL: 6688, XLI: 5861 with no. 17432.<sup>24</sup>
5. Juglets with broad bodies, long cylindrical necks and handles from rim or mid-neck to shoulder (cf. Pl. XXXVIII: 5499 with XL: 6700 and XLI: 5467, 5652).
6. Carinated bowls (cf. Pls. XXXVIII: 5639, 5751 with XLI: 5649).
7. Similar motifs of decoration discussed above.
8. Similar clay and fire technique discussed above.
9. Pots with fenestrated pedestals (cf. Pls. XXXIX: 5767 with LXVI: 6).
10. Jar burials were also found in caves (see Pl. XLII, jar 6682 was found in cave 99, while jar 5692 (burial 52) was found below the earliest phase of the Baalat-Gebal complex grid 20, fig. 13, sec. BB).

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26. This pot is not illustrated, but is recorded and described in FB II2.

Period KI.

The extant remains of this period are evidenced in Areas I, III, IV, V and VII.<sup>27</sup> This period's output whether in architecture or ceramics is not abundant on the mound. However, continuity in architectural tradition can be traced from periods KI to KIV, and is best displayed in Areas III (fig. 9) and VII (figs. 22-23, 25a). Architectural continuity is further supplemented by ceramic continuity showing a steady development from KI to KIV styles (see Pl. XLVII- LII).

Pottery associated with KI architecture appears fully fledged on the site (see fig. 1). There is no evidence for a transitional phase as Dunand had suggested, from which one can postulate the development of the KI culture.<sup>28</sup> The rectangular houses of period KI built in herring-bone masonry<sup>29</sup> could not have possibly developed from the flimsy, heterogeneous walls of period L built in rough stones. Nor can the L period jugs (Pl. XXXVIII: 5499; XL: 6700; XLI: 5647, 5652) be considered as precursors to the KI period vessels (Pl. XLVII). Other innovating features appearing at the beginning of period KI, (see below), suggest that the KI culture is intrusive at Byblos. The stratigraphic records showing breaks and sometimes gaps between periods KI and L (figs. 5, 13-13b, 16a and 25a), corroborate

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27 For specific examples, see Summaries of Areas I - VII, in chap. IB.

28 M. Dunand in RB 57 (1950) pp. 583, 590-593.

29 For the possible origin of this style of masonry, see chapter III sections B and C.



the suggestion made above concerning the foreign character of this culture.

### Typology.

The system of typological classification adopted here is very general and flexible since the material involved does not represent an actual corpus of the ceramic industry at Byblos, but merely its profile.

It has been already made clear that only pottery which is related to the archaeological periods developed in chap. IB will be discussed here.<sup>30</sup> The present typology therefore is expedient for this study in its capacity as a reference form to be used in chap. IV, and is never meant to be an actual study in ceramic typology. Vessels are labelled by letters according to their class and function ex: jugs A, bowls B, etc. Arabic numbers are added to the different forms of each class, such as Jugs A1, A2, bowls B1, B2, etc. Very often one or two numbers are skipped in the series when the forms appear to vary greatly. By this method two things are suggested: the first indicates that the list of pottery being discussed in this chapter is not complete, the second leaves room for possible other styles to be accommodated within the system in the event of new publications on Byblos. Furthermore, this system does not imply a chronological sequence: ex: jug type A1 is contemporary to A2 but is earlier than A3. Jug type A14 is earlier than A12 but is contemporary to A8, etc.

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30

A few unstratified vessels are illustrated in the plates showing interesting new types or specific features. These, however, are not included in the type lists except when a certain vessel appears to be identical to a specific group (ex: Pl. XLVII: 5306).

Individual vessels have been sufficiently described in chap. IB.

Here only their outstanding characteristics will be discussed.

Jugs - types A1 and A2 (Pl. XLVII and LXXII: 1-2).

In form and technique, these jugs are new at Byblos. Their clay is smooth, well-fired and the surface is burnished to a metallic shine. They appear in association with a rectangular house built in herring-bone style masonry. Type A1 is distinguished by its very long narrow cylindrical neck. It, however, appears to have been discontinued at the end of KI, whereas type A2 continued to be used till period KIV (cf. fig. 13: 4109; fig. 5: 13128).

Bowl - type B1 (Pl. L).

The distinctive features of this bowl are the out-rolled rim and the cross-hatched decoration inside. It was found beneath the floor of the monocellular sanctuary of period KI (cf. fig. 13). Present evidence shows that it was used during period KII and KIII as well (cf. fig. 9: 16808; fig. 14: 5414, 5413; fig. 24: 12913).

Jar - type E1 (not illustrated, see description fig. 5, phase 2).

This jar has a pattern-combed surface, long neck with out-rolled rim, sloping shoulders with two handles on mid-body and a large flat base. It will be seen that this type persisted with slight variations all through periods K, JI/JII and the very beginning of period H (see Pls. LII, LIX and LXV).

Sealing 15715 (Pl. XLV).

Consists of schematized animal and human forms. This is the earliest

occurrence of a cylinder seal impression at Byblos. It was found in Area VII in a KI context (see figs. 23, 24). These seals are usually rolled on the shoulders of jars, whereas stamp seals of period L (Pl. XLIV) are stamped on handles of jars. However, a few stamped seals may have continued to be used during KI since a stamped sherd 18526 (Pl. XLIV) was found in a KI context. Other probably related stamp seals are 18804, 17900, the loccii of which are dubious (Pl. XLIV).

All the above features, wheel-made red-burnished jugs, bowls with out-rolled rims, cross-hatching and pattern combining appear suddenly at the beginning of KI associated with a new type of architecture (Pl. XXXIII: 1). None of these features with the possible exception of the stamp seals (if these are not intrusive) have occurred in earlier contexts or could be considered as a development from period L.

#### Period KII.

The architectural remains of this period cover a greater area of the mound than do those of period KI. Its yield of ceramics is also more profuse. Blgs of this period are found in Areas I, III IV, V and VII. The most interesting examples from this period are houses XIa, XIb (fig. 5, phase 3) and XLIIIa, XLIIIb (fig. 22, 2nd plan from bottom) because they furnish striking examples of architectural continuity with the subsequent period KIII. Herring-bone masonry is not used after period KI.



Typology.Jugs - type A3 (Pl. XLVIII).

These are similar to type A2, but they have developed short stump bases, while the necks have become shorter and broader. Jug 4975 was found with another very similar jug (4976) under the floors of batiment XVIII of period KII (fig. 13). This type is very popular at Byblos and appears in several Units up till the end of period KIV (cf. fig. 9: 16364/16365 KIII; fig. 24: 12913 KIII; fig. 18: 17064 KIV).

Jug - type A4 (Pl. XLVIII).

Is similar to type A3 but the sides of the base are splayed while the neck is similar to type A1 but is shorter than the latter. This type comes from a pottery deposit associated with blg XIX of period KII (fig. 9). It is of especial value for comparative purposes (see chap. IV A1, under period KII). Along with this type of jug, bowls of type B1 (see supra) and B8 as well as a plate type B15 (Pl. L) were found. Type B8 seems to be sufficiently common at Byblos but unfortunately no other similar example could be located in the sections (Pl. LI: 10940 is unstratified).

Bowl - type B2 (fig. 16: 17182, see Pl. L for an identical ex.).

Is very similar to type B1 except that this type has a flat base instead of the rounded base of B1. Bowl 17182 is associated with blg XXXIV of period KII (fig. 16). This type is fairly common during KIII and KIV (Pls. L and LI).

Bowl - type B12 (Pl. L).

This bowl is new at Byblos as it does not appear in earlier levels. It is associated with house V of period KII (fig. 3). This type seems to be uncommon during periods K. Later, in the JI/JII periods somewhat related forms appear (Pl. LX, types M).

Jar - type E2 (Pl. LII).

Is similar to type E1 above, but has no handles and the combing is in horizontal bands. It was found in the same context as bowl B12.

Pot - type D1 (Pl. L).

Present evidence shows that this type of pot appears during KII and no earlier (for the possible origin of this pot, see chap. IV A). This type was found in three different Units all dated by their contexts and stratigraphy to period KII (cf. fig. 13: 5045 under the floors of bâtiment XVIII; fig. 15: 5389, 5389 bis about 0:30m above the floor of phase 1, KI; fig. 25: 17133 beneath the walls of blg LII, phase 1, period KII). Probably this spherical pot with wide mouth served as a cooking pot (for a possible different function during KIII, see fig. 14, deposit 5390 - 5416). The three specimens from this period are hand-made with everted rims; subsequently they develop thick rolled rims and are turned on the wheel.

Cylinder Seals.

Numerous seals of various motifs have been found at Byblos but very few of these could be related to the architectural phases developed

in this study. From bâtiment XVIII (period KII), two sherds bearing motifs of tête-be-tête animal pairs and procession of animals (Pl. XLV: 5072, 5073) were recovered. These motifs were probably engraved on wooden seals as their flat relief and lack of modelling implies (see chap. IIIA, note 41). The rendering of these seals is in a more naturalistic style than the schematized seal of KI (see Pl. XLV: 15715). A sherd with confronting animals (Pl. XLV: 5684) is difficult to place in a sequence. It was found in blg XXVIII (fig. 14) at the same level as the jar tombs but surely it must be intrusive in this context.

The stratigraphical records show that at the end of period KII important events took place at Byblos. The main temple was destroyed as well as an important blg XXXIV on the eastern front of the site. The transition from periods KII to KIII is very interesting and will be discussed below under period KIII.

#### Period KIII.

A major blg activity is clearly marked in the stratification of Byblos at the beginning of period KIII. Houses are now spacious consisting of several rooms and one or two courtyards (fig. 9: blg XIX). In many instances the KIII house is the result of the fusion of two earlier KII houses (e.g. fig. 5: blg XI; fig. 22: blg XLIV).

The most fundamental changes reflecting the economy and life at Byblos during period KIII is seen in the main temple complex, the Baalat-Gabal and the city's new fortification. After the destruction of



bâtiment XVIII (KII period), a new temple with a hypostyle hall was built. The technique of its masonry (Pl. XVIII: 1) and the layout of its hall (Pl. XII) reflect foreign influences (see chap. III A for the architectural links of both bâtiment II and the Hypostyle temple). Within the precincts of this new temple, a Mesopotamian cylinder seal was found (Pl. XLVI: 4504) as well as Egyptian stone vases and ceremonial metal axes engraved with stags' heads (Pl. LXVII). Huge stone defences surround the city for the first time (Summaries of Areas V and VII). A ramp leading to the main gate of the city was constructed over blg XXXIV which had been demolished presumably for this purpose leaving only its foundations (fig. 16). These architectural innovations, however, did not disrupt the existing cultural fabric which persisted for centuries and centuries. In fact the masonry and layout of the hypostyle temple remained an isolated example in the city. Local traditions superseded foreign elements (chap. IIIC). Cultural continuity is best reflected in the ceramic industry of this period which retains the basic classical forms introduced in periods KI and KII. Nevertheless, the beginning of KIII heralds a new era of international contacts bringing in new prosperity to the city. Foreign objects especially Egyptian stone vases are evidence of an organised maritime trade with Egypt. The large spacious houses of this period are an indication of a wealthy population and a good standard of living.

Typology.Jugs - types A6, A8, A9 (Pl. XLVIII, XLIX).

These three jugs were found together in a KIII context (fig. 23).

The three are characterised by their elongated slim lines. Type A6 is almost cylindrical with base and rim slightly everted. Type A9 on the other hand has developed a distinctive feature, a moulded rope at the base of the neck. This feature is of extreme importance for chronological correlations (see chap. IVA). A similar jug to no. 12317, type A8, but without cross-hatching, is illustrated on Pl. XLIX: 5101. This latter probably belongs to a KIV level.

Bowl - type B9 (Pl. L).

It is a simple bowl which occurs also in period KIV (Pl. LI). It was found with two jugs type A3 (see above) associated with level 3 of blg XIX.

Bowl - type B20 (Pl. L).

This is the only bowl of this type reported from Byblos. It is a large fairly deep bowl decorated with radial and horizontal burnished lines. It was found below the floor level of blg XL, phase 1 (fig. 21).

Deposit 5390 - 5416 (Pl. XLIX, L and fig. 14).

This deposit is of extreme importance because it contains several interesting types, a few of which appear for the first time at Byblos. The circumstances of its finding and its ascription to period KIII has been fully discussed in fig. 14 and Summary to Area IV. It contains the following types:

Jug - type A14 (Pl. XLIX and LXXIII).

This is an extremely important type and appears to have been fairly common judging by the several recorded jugs of this kind. These are distinguished by their very broad long necks. They may have either short or long stump bases. A second jug of this type (18103) is reported from grid sq. 11/13 mainly occupied by a blg which appears to be contemporary to the adjacent blgs XXII, XXIII and XIX of period KIII, (figs. 9 and 10, plan I). A third jug (5280) with a long stump base is recorded from the north of grid rec. 2, i.e. between blgs XXVIII and XXIX. Its low level 22:20-22:00m suggests that it may be contemporary with the adjacent blg XXIX of period KIII (see analysis of fig. 15).

Pot - type D2 (Pl. L).

This type is similar to D1 discussed above under period KII. However type D2 which is wheel-made has a thick rolled rim and a horizontally combed surface. An identical pot occurs in a KIV deposit (see below).

Bowls - type B2 (Pl. L and L1).

This type has been discussed above under KII.

Bowls - type B5 (Pl. L).

Is a small carinate bowl. This type appears to be rare at Byblos.

Bowls - type B16 (Pl. L).

A shallow bowl decorated with cross hatching inside. This type continues till period KIV (Pl. LI).

Bowls - type B18 (Pl. L and LXXII: 3).

Is a shallow bowl with exquisitely thin walls - decorated by cross



hatching inside.

Platters C1 and C2 (Pl. L and LXXII: 4).

Henceforth, the platter becomes common at Byblos. However, later examples have either flattened or concave bases. Platters continue to be used till the end of periods JI/JII (Pl. LX).

A four spouted lamp 5411 (fig. 14).

The early context of this type of lamp is rather surprising. Similar examples appear during KIV (see below).

Cylinder seals.

The seals of this and the succeeding period are almost identical. The same motifs of the former period are reproduced, the only difference is in the rendering and arrangement of the subjects, which now seem to be more compact (Pl. XLV: 12613, 11572, 11298).

Period KIV.

Massive scale reconstructions of earlier blgs is evidenced in most Units. Extra thickness has been added to walls, and rooms have become more spacious merely by discarding earlier partition walls (fig. 24: blg LI). New architectural concepts were introduced such as the audiencehalls for example (figs. 12, 12a). Occasionally new structural features were added or new rooms appended to earlier layouts (fig. 5: blg XI, phase 5). Houses which were built initially in period KIV have solid walls, spacious rooms and simple layouts (fig. 3: blg VI).

The sacred architecture of this period is well represented by bâtiment XL (Pl. XIII - XVI and fig. 13), the Chapelle Orientale (fig. 19 and

Pl. XXII: 2) and temple XIII (Pl. III: 2 and fig. 7, phase 3).

However, the extant remains of this period are extremely disturbed and most walls are broken, evidence of a destruction. Subsequent architectural works have contributed to this disturbance, as earlier walls seem to have been robbed and the stones re-used for new blgs (this situation is best seen in figs. 4, 16-18, 21-25).

#### Typology.

##### Jugs - types A8, A9, A10 (Pl. XLIX).

It was seen above that types A8 and A9 have appeared in period KIII. Jug 5101 (type A8) has been dated by its context to period KIV. The surface has no cross-hatching and the base is more pointed than the KIII example (12317). Type A10 is a new form which might have developed from A9. The latter has a moulded rope at the base of the neck. Type A10 has a marked shoulder, i.e. a constriction at the base of the neck with fine lines replacing the moulded rope (Pl. LXXIV).

##### Jug - type A12 (Pl. XLIX).

This type is also exclusive to period KIV. It foreshadows the M.B. juglet by the form of its handle and the pointed base. It was found with jugs type A10, beneath the floor of bâtiment XL, period KIV (fig. 13, phase 5).

##### Jug - type A15 (Pl. XLIX).

This jug which was found with the above types A10, A12, appears to have developed from type A14 of period KIII (see Pl. LXXIV: 2).

It is interesting for the exaggerated form of its neck. An identical

example was found in blg XIX associated with level 5, period KIV (fig. 9).

Bowl - type B6 (Pl. LI).

Is distinguished by its exquisite thinwalls which have a slight carination. It was found below the floors of blg II, phase 4 (fig. 1). Comp. this type with the small carinated bowl of period KIII, type B5 (Pl. L).

Bowl - type B7 (Pl. LI).

Similar to the above but sides are thicker and rim is beaded. It is associated with the destruction level of blgs XLVII, XLVI (fig. 23).

Bowl - type B17 (Pl. LI).

Two shallow bowls, 10962<sup>31</sup> which has thin walls, was found in the same context as the above bowl type B7.

Platter - type C3 (Pl. LI).

Similar to platters C1, C2 of period KIII, except that it has a flattened base instead of the convex bases of period KIII (Pl. L). It was found in the same context with a jug, type A15 (fig. 9: 14246).

Pot - type D2 (Pl. LI).

Was discussed above under KIII. Pot 4105 occurs in a deposit containing jugs A10, A12, A15 (fig. 13).

Jar - type E4 (Pl. LII).

Jars of this period have become cylindrical in shape whereas those of periods KI, KII have sloping shoulders (cf. Pl. LII, type E2). No jars are listed in the typology of period KIII ceramics. This does not mean that they did not exist. Their absence is due to chance.

31. Due to an error, too late to rectify, bowl 10962 is omitted from the list of objects in fig. 23 phase 5.



Jar type E3 offers a stratigraphical and typological problem. It was found in a JI/JII context (cf. fig. 18, phase 3). Though some jars of those periods retain the basic form and combed decoration of periods K, but they are either handleless or have circular handles (Pl. LIX). In fact the circular handle is a distinctive feature of JI/JII pottery and appears on several ceramic forms of those periods (see below). Therefore, the presence of jar E3 (with loop handles) in a JI/JII context suggests that either this type continued to be produced in the early part of periods J, or that its 'find-spot' represents a contaminated level.

Several forms and types of the earlier periods KI, KII continue.

Examples of these early types include: jug type A2 (figs. 13: 4108 and 5: 13128), jug A3 (fig. 18: 17064); bowls B2 (Pl. LI: 17158) and B9 (Pl. LI: 12185).

- Four spouted lamp: this type has been discussed above. It occurs in a KIV context (see fig. 5: 13474, phase 5). This type indicates a firm link with the succeeding periods JI/JII.

#### Periods JI/JII.

Subsequent to the destruction of Byblos KIV, a special intense activity is displayed in sacred architecture. New temples with new architectural concepts were built on the ruins of earlier ones (The Obelisk complex, Pls. IV, V; megaron VII, fig 8; The Champ des Offrandes, fig. 9, Pl. VIII; the ECI, fig. 11; Batiment II,

Pl. XVII and the Chapelle Pl. XXIII). A few secular blgs were erected (Pl. XXXI.) and probably a palace too (Pls. XXXII, XXXV). Byblos was at this time a seat of a governor, 'ensi (see chap. IIIA, note 169). A surge of new ceramics and metal works was found in temples as well as secular blgs. This radical change in the culture of the city has been fully described in chap. IB, see Summaries of Areas I to VII. However, the KIII/KIV urban tradition of a walled settlement is still retained. Byblos is surrounded by a new recessed wall (Pl. XX, cf. fig. 24). Other elements of continuity with periods KI/KIV will be discussed below.

#### Typology.

The homogeneity of form and fabric of periods K is now lost. A new influx of pottery showing a great variety of forms, styles and techniques appears at the beginning of periods J. However, several features of the K ceramics continue while certain forms appear to have developed from the K types. This continuity is best illustrated in jugs and jars (Pls. LVII, LIX).

#### Surface treatment and decoration.

The varied innovations in surface treatment of vessels require a separate discussion. Vessels are no longer decorated by burnishing or cross-hatching. Following are the predominant decorative features:

Slips: thick red slips, well polished to a shiny lustre appear mainly on vase pots and chalices (Pl. LIII). This kind of slip offers a firm link with R.T. I - III jugs (Pl. LXXVI:1). The other type of slip is black or dark grey with a purplish reflection. It appears on

vase pots H10, H11 (Pl. LIII) and jar type E8 (Pl. LV). Creamy slips are also used but only when vessels are to be painted.

Otherwise vessels are either buff, reddish pink or rosy beige.

Paint: usually monochrome, applied on a contrasting background.

Polychrome in paint is rare at Byblos. It occurs in the Middle Bronze Age and most of the vessels of this type are imports (cf. fig. 9: 10867). Surface decoration of the vessels often consists of red lines arranged in simple geometric or wavy linear patterns carelessly executed, lattice patterns, as well as in 'spray' and 'pine-tree' motifs (Pl. LIV). Other forms of painted decoration consist of creamy spiral or horizontal bands on a red background (Pl. LV: A7) sometimes black (Pl. LV: 1). Occasionally the bands are red (Pl. LVI: k4). A third way of using paint is by decorating rims with oblique strokes (Pl. LIV: k1) and handles with daubs or notches (Pl. LIV: F, centre).

Rilling: this form of decoration is produced by the wheel.

Apparently after the vessel has been painted or slipped it is thrown on a fast wheel where rilled bands are produced showing the original light colour of the clay which contrasts with the dark smooth surface of the vessel. These vessels are usually covered with a dark red slip (Pl. LIII: H1, H2, J1), rarely black (Pl. LV: E8).

Types.

Vase Pots (Pl. LIII).

These include varied forms but they all belong to the same class.

Type H1: a flat-based pot with vertically perforated lugs; decoration



by rilled bands. It was found with a large group of JI/JII vessels: jug type A7, goblet M2, combed jars, etc. (fig. 23, phase 6).

Type H2: is related to the above. It was found in the tower temple among a very large ceramic group of these periods containing jug type A7, a white on black teapot (Pl. LV: 1), amphora, combed jars, etc. (fig. 21, phase 4).

Type H4: a squat bottle with bulging sides coated with a shiny red slip. It was found with type H2.

Types H5, H7: both have a dark red slip with vertically perforated lugs. They were found in the same context as jug A7, and a chalice of family J (fig. 2: phase 5). These two types and especially H4 are extremely interesting for cultural and chronological correlations (see chap. IV B: 2).

Types H10, H11: occur in a deposit consisting of eleven similar pots, as well as sacrificial bones and stags' horns (fig. 8). They are either grey, or blackish with purple reflection. They are decorated with the bucranium motif which forms a link with periods K, since this form of decoration was common on vessels of those periods (see for example fig. 23: sherd 13244, phase 3).

Chalices (Pl. LIII).

Types J1, J2, J3: J1 is related to types J1, H2 by its surface decoration (fig. 24). It was found in the Chapelle Orientale along with interesting types of JI/JII (jugs types A4, A7, amphora F/J with the spray motif, jar E1, goblets, cups, etc., see fig. 19, phases 4/5).

The chalice J2 has distinctive features; a narrow button base and very

thin walls. J3 was found in the Obelisk complex, with jug A4, bowls B8 and votive cups (fig. 7b).

Two handled/juglets type F/J- (Pl. LIV). Juglets from deposit

4552-4908 are all listed under one type though there are slight variations in the forms, nevertheless they are unmistakably of the same family. For the circumstances of their finding, their attribution to bâtiment II and their surface decoration, see fig. 13, phases 6/7. The distinctive features of these pots are the large circular handles and their painted surfaces. Identical examples to these vessels occur in well defined JI/JII contexts or even later. Juglet 14257 (fig. 19) was found among vessels diagnostic for JI/JII, such as jugs A4, A7, chalice J2 discussed above, cups N, goblet M4, jar E1, etc.). A second example is juglet 7587 (fig. 21) which occurs among a group of vessels typical of JI/JII mentioned above in connection with type H2. Later examples occur in blg XVI (fig. 7d: 12413). The latter has the same spray motif as the juglet of the Chapelle (fig 19: 14257).

Bottle - type G (Pl. LV).

A ring-based red burnished bottle with extremely fine rills on the neck. It is a most important type for chronological correlations (see chap. IV B: 2).

#### Pots.

Type K1- (Pl. LIV): painted in lattice pattern with oblique strokes on the rim. It is associated with bâtiment II, periods JI/JII.

Types K4, K5- (Pl. LVI): these two types were found in the same context as bottle type G discussed above. Pot K4 is painted with red bands while

pot K5 is interesting for its typological link with pots of later periods.

Type K7 (Pl. LVI): has an almost cylindrical form. It was found in blg XVI which is attached to the Obelisk complex, periods JI/JII (figs. 7c, 7d and Plan II).

Type K8: (Pl. LVI): was found built into the masonry of the Enceinte Sacree, phases 1/2 (fig. 11). It offers an interesting parallel to pots from Syria (chap. IV B: 2).

Teapot - type L (Pl. LV).

Painted with white bands on a black background. It was found in the temple tower along with types A7, H2, H4, F/J, E5 etc. (fig. 21). This is the only pot of this type recorded from Byblos.

Jugs - types A1 to A5 (Pl. LVII).

These form an interesting group because of the link they seem to offer between the jugs of periods K and the succeeding periods H. It is most probable that jug type A1 is derived from the K ceramics. The vertical burnishing of the surface is in the K tradition which goes out of fashion during the J periods. However, this jug seems to represent the very beginning of period JI as its stratigraphy and type implies (see figs. 5 and 6, phases 6 and 5 respectively). The trefoil mouth and the circular handle are characteristic of periods JI/JII. Possibly it is a transitional type between periods K and J.

Type A2 which is associated with bâtiment II could perhaps represent a transitional phase between the Early Bronze Age piriform juglet which is well known from Palestine<sup>32</sup> and the Middle Bronze Age juglet.<sup>33</sup>

32. K. Kenyon, Jericho I, figs. 52, 61, etc.

33. Ibid., figs. 122, 131, 150, etc.



At Byblos, a few examples of the small piriform juglets similar to those from EB Palestine are recorded but unfortunately they could not be related to an architectural phase. Jug type A2 is represented by several examples from bâtiment II, all having the characteristic large circular handles of periods JI/JII (for the find circumstances and the attribution of these jugs to bâtiment II, cf. fig. 13, phases 6/7. These jugs were found along with an amphora (126) type F/J discussed above and a group of miniature votive beakers which are truly diagnostic for periods JI/JII (see below). None of the typical K jugs or the later jugs of periods H which are well known from the Obelisk temple, and other Units, is recorded from bâtiment II. These jugs therefore could be considered as transitional. However, only one jug (128, Pl LVII), could possibly be later than type A2 because of its close similarity to the H jugs (Pl. LXIV, top row). For this reason it was not listed in the typology of these two periods. On the other hand it is very probable that it is contemporary with jugs, type A2.

Jug type A3 was found in association with jug A7, vase pots H5, H7 (fig. 2, Pl. LIII). An identical jug to type A3, was found in a deposit near the Baalat complex, but unfortunately could not be related to an architectural phase (Pl. LVIII). However, it is interesting to note that one jug of this deposit (4934) is definitely related to periods K jugs by its stump base and elongated body, whereas its circular handle is characteristic of JI/JII. The third jug (4936) could be easily classified as a product of the Middle Bronze Age ceramic industry. Stylistically, this deposit appears to bridge the period

between the end of KIV to the beginning of periods H.

The A4 types foreshadow the H period jugs (comp. with Pl. LXIV, top row). These two jugs perhaps belong to period JII. In fact this is suggested by their stratigraphy. Jug 13471 was found in the Chapelle in association probably with floor 5 which represents a second stage in periods J (fig. 19). A large group of pottery and metal objects diagnostic for periods JI/JII appear in the same context. Jug 18739 was found in the Obelisk temple, phase 3, associated with chalice J3, bowls B8 (Pl. LX) and votive cups (Pl. LXI, fig. 7b). Jug A5 has two features of periods K ceramics, the moulded rope at the base of the neck and the vertical burnishing of the surface. The form of the body is related to the later jugs of periods H. It was found in a contaminated level where walls of periods KIV and JII appear on the same horizontal level.

Jug - type A7 (Pls. LVII and LXXIV).

This jug is truly diagnostic for periods JI/JII. It was found in seven different Units all dated by their stratigraphy and contents to these two periods (cf. figs. 2 and 4: 14250; 6: 11206; 16: 14027-29; 18: 18650; 19: 14235; 21: 7590; 24: 8068). In form and decoration, this type is new at Byblos. The creamy spiral bands which decorate its surface are a common feature on contemporary Syrian vessels (see chap. IV B:2).

Jars (Pl. LIX).

Types E1, E2, E3: the jars in general with the exception of type E8, appear to be a development from periods K. Type A1 has almost a globular body and circular handles. It was found in the Chapelle

with types A4, A7, F/J, J2 all discussed above, as well as goblets and pins with stags' heads which appear in several Units along with JI/JII pottery (see Pl. LXVII.).

The find circumstances of jar type E2 throw doubt on its authenticity (fig. 4, phase 5). Jar E3 has its neck broken but it still retains its distinctive JI/JII circular handles. It was found with jug type A5 discussed above.

Types E5, E6: these are obviously related to the combed jars of periods K (comp. with Pl. LII). E5 was found in the temple tower (fig. 21) while E6 was found on the floor of gateway III which is ascribed in this study to periods JI/JII (see Summary of Area V). Similar jars occur in phase 6 of Unit B (fig. 23) among a large group of pottery which is typical of periods JI/JII. These jars have moulded ropes at the base of the neck or on the rim, a feature which becomes very popular during periods H (cf. fig. 7b: 16613; Pl. LXV: 11485; Pl. LXIII: 394).

Type E8: is definitely an innovation of periods JI/JII and is related to the caliciform ware of Syria (see chap. IV B: 2). It has a shiny black surface and is decorated with fine rills at the base of the neck.

Bowls - types B1, B2 (Pl. LX).

These two types appear to have developed from the K bowls. In fact bowl B1 is similar to type B7 of period KIV (cf. Pl. LI). B2 is probably a clumsy imitation of B1.



Bowl - type B5 (Pl. LX).

Is a new type at Byblos. It was found in the same context as bowl B1 (fig. 1). For foreign parallels to this bowl, see chap. IV B: 2).

Bowls - type B8 (Pl. LX).

The form of these bowls as well as their large circular handles are innovations of periods JI/JII. They were found in the same context as chalice J3 (Pl. LIII) and jug A4 (Pl. LVII: 18739) as well as a great amount of votive cups (fig. 7b). These small bowls foreshadow the larger bowls of periods H (see Pl. LXII).

Bowl-plate - type B10 (Pl. LX).

The ring base and the long handle of this bowl-plate are new features at Byblos. It was found with an Ur III tablet in the destruction level of blg XXXIX (fig. 18).

Platter - type C1 (Pl. LX).

Is definitely related to platters of period K. The only difference is that it has a concave base whereas the earlier platters have convex or flattened bases (comp. with Pls. L: C1, C2 and LI: C3).

Goblets - types M1, M2 (Pl. LX).

These forms are innovations of periods JI/JII. M1 was found in the same context as bottle type G (Pl. LV) and pots K4, K5 (Pl. LVI). M2 has a short pedestal base; it was found among a group of pottery diagnostic for periods JI/JII (jug type A7, vase H1, combed jars, pot stands, etc., fig. 24). This type could probably be the precursor of the H periods goblet found in the O.T. (fig. 7b: 15475).

Goblets - types M4, M5 (Pl. LX).

These types must be the direct ancestors of the goblets of periods H (cf. fig. 7b: 15473 bis; fig. 18: 12719). Goblet 14649 is painted with a white band below the rim and irregular red lines on the body. This is probably one of the very few Byblite vessels that shows polychromy in paint. It was found in the Chapelle with many other vessels of these two periods (fig. 19). The other goblet of this type 14636 is plain; it occurred in the same context as bowls B1, B5. For the stratigraphical position of goblet M5, and its transitional context (see fig. 18).

Cups - types N1, N2 (Pl. LX).

All three cups have the distinctive characteristic of JI/JII circular handles. Two of these (13176, 12839) were found in the Chapelle (fig. 19). Type N1 has got a narrower base with largely splayed walls. Cup 7562 (type N1) was found in the same context as jar E6 (see above).

Cup - type N5 (Pl. LX).

Is unique at Byblos. It has a shiny black exterior with a red interior and a very large circular handle. It was found in the same context as pot K7 discussed above. For the importance of this cup, its possible origin and its impact on Byblite pottery, (see chap. IV B: 2).

The miniature votive cups (Pl. LXI).

These are important diagnostic vessels for periods JI/JII. Most of them are wheel-made and their size varies from 0.03 - 0.05; very few attain 0.06m. They are plain, neither slipped nor burnished. They

are classified into four types A-D according to their forms. Type E which includes larger cups with well smoothed surfaces belong to the succeeding periods H. Cups A - D are used for ritual purposes because they are found only in temples and never in secular blgs. That these cups were not used in the earlier periods K has been clearly demonstrated in the analysis of the stratigraphical sequences of these temples. To recapitulate: the objects recovered from the Montet trench cut through the Baalat complex, are published under 'dépôts de fondations'. Pottery recorded from the dépôts ... include a juglet , F/J, jugs type A2 discussed above and one or two vessels (128) which could be later, as well as the votive cups (133). Dunand's excavation of this temple uncovered earlier levels (fig. 13, phases 2-5). where pottery typical of periods KI to KIV has been found. / Not a single votive cup has been recorded from these early levels. All the cups published in FBI come from grid rec. 37 which belongs to the Obelisk complex and specifically the area of the cellae, or temple XIV. No votive cups can be associated with floor 2 of temple XIII which precedes phase 3 of the Obelisk complex assigned to JI/JII (fig. 7, 7a, analysis of phases 2 and 3). Evidence from the Chapelle Orientale complements that of the above temples. Two structural phases equivalent to periods KIII/KIV precede the JI/JII levels, but not a single cup is reported from these early levels whereas a deposit and stray finds of these cups are reported from levels JI/JII and later (fig. 19). The same situation appears in the Champ des Offrandes, but here as was pointed



out above, the underlying blg is probably secular.

It can be deduced from the above survey that Byblos supported a homogeneous ceramic industry during periods KI to KIV. Subsequent to the destruction of Byblos KIV new innovations in ceramics and architecture appear on the site. These levels are represented by periods JI/JII. However, several forms of the JI/JII ceramics appear to have developed from periods K ceramics. These are jars E1 - E6 (Pl. LIX), jugs A1 - A5 (Pl. LVII), bowls B1, B2 and platter C1 (Pl. LIX). This survey also offers new evidence for the Byblite origin of the succeeding culture of periods H. No doubt there exist innovating features in periods H, but a great bulk of its ceramics originate in periods JI/JII. Sufficient to mention here the links as seen in the jar (comp. Pl. LXV with Pl. LIX) the jug (comp. Pl. LVII, types A1 - A5 with Pl. LXIV, top row), the goblets and bowls discussed above. The linear painted pattern on jug A7 (Pl. LVII) could be a precursor to jugs 12472, 11420 (Pl. LVII). Also the more complex painted patterns appearing on vessels of periods H (Pl. LXIII) could have developed from the simpler motifs of periods JI/JII (Pl. LIV). Both are monochrome using the spray motif as well as lattice patterns and wavy lines. In this context it would be interesting to point out the possible origin of the so-called Canaanite jar. On Pl. LXV, jar 8359 which is still in the JI/JII tradition has developed a convex base and the body is narrower. It was found in the Champ des Offrandes overlying the J levels (fig. 9). An identical jar (17691) appears in the earliest

phase of the Obelisk temple of periods H (fig. 7, phase 4). Later, forms similar to jar 17261 start to appear. The latter is associated with the Obelisk temple, phases 4/5. An identical jar (13287) to 17261 occurs in a contemporary level in Area V (cf. fig. 18). The form of this new jar which could have developed from the earlier type, which goes back to periods K and J, is probably ancestral to the jar found in the Royal tombs and in contemporary Palestine (see Pl. LXV). However, a more interesting alternative for the origin of the Canaanite jar has been recently discussed.<sup>34</sup>

The White Spotted Wares of Periods H (Pl. LXVI).

Although these wares fall outside the scope of this study, evidence for their dating has been supplied by the stratigraphical reconstruction of the city of Byblos. It would be useful to present this evidence here. Sherd 938 was found in a tomb<sup>35</sup> dated by its tell el-Yahoudie vessels to the latter part of the Middle Bronze Age. Sherd 9781 occurs in levels later than JI/JII contexts (cf. fig. 5). Figurine 1772 forms a part of a small deposit of similar figurines associated with phase 8 of the Baalat complex (fig. 13).

Deposit 18107 - 18248 was sunk in a pit carved near the Sacred Well. It overlies an earlier deposit of metal pins (fig. 10: 18886 - 89) and is separated from it by a layer of earth about 0:20m (cf. figs. 10 and 12b). Identical pins were found in jug 3828, type A7 (see

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34. P.J. Parr, in Archaeological Theory and Practice, ed. by D.E. Strong, pp. 173-181.

35. P. Montet, BE, Tombeaux de Particuliers, 3rd tomb, nos. 929 - 946, Pls. CXLV - CXLVIII. no. 938 is misplaced - it appears on Pl. CLI whereas it was found in the above mentioned tomb. See ibid, description of this sherd on p. 297.

FBI). It was seen above that this type of jug is truly diagnostic for periods JI/JII. The pottery deposit therefore should be later. Also foreign parallels to this spotted pottery confirms their late date. These parallels will be briefly referred to in chap. IV B: 2).



Table 8.List of Pharaohs' names found at Byblos.Surface.

1113 - Phiops I or II (VI)  
 1114 - Phiops I or II (VI)  
 1115 - Khasekhamwy (II)  
 1116 - Phiops I or II (VI)

Byzantine Level.

1315 - Ramses II  
 1317 - Ramses II  
 1320 - Ramses II

Levels I and II (28:00-27:60)

1354 - Ramses II  
 1359 - Phiops I (VI)  
 1360 - Ramses II  
 1551 - Ammenemes ? (XII)

Level IV (27:60-27:40)

1741 - Osorkon II (XXII)  
 1742 - Phiops I or II (VI)  
 1794 - Mycerinus (IV)

Levels VI, VII, VIII, IX (27:00-26:20)

1927 - Phiops II (VI)  
 1940 - Antyemsaf I (VI)  
 2359 - Phiops I (VI)  
 2365 - Phiops II (VI)  
 2367 - Mycerinus (IV)  
 2466 - Phiops I (VI)  
 2469 - Phiops I (VI)  
 2471 - Mycerinus (IV)  
 2965 - Phiops I (VI)  
 2874 - Phiops II (VI)  
 2905 - Ammenemes III (XII)  
 11327 - Mycerinus (IV)

Demolition of walls (28:00-26:00)

3065 - Neferhotep (XIII)  
 3074 - Chephren (IV)

Level XV (25:20-25:00)

3530 - Phiops I or II (VI)

Levels XVIII-XX (24:60-24:00)

3753 - Teti (VI)  
 3792 - Phiops I or II (VI)  
 3800 - Phiops II (VI)  
 3867 - Unas (V)  
 3920 - Sahure (V)  
 3980 - Unas (V)  
 3981 - Unas (V)

Demolition of walls (26:00-24:00)

4029 - Unas (V)  
 4030 - Nyuserre (V)

Levels XXII-XXIII (23:50-23:40)

4909 - Kakai (V)  
 4940 - Phiops I or II (VI)  
 17538 - Hetepheres (IV)  
 17540 - Phiops I or II (VI)

Levels XXVI-XXVII (23:00-22:60)

5120 - Mycerinus (IV)  
 5141 - Phiops I or II  
 5191 - Phiops I or II

Level XXXIII (21:60-21:40)

5446 - Phiops I or II (VI)

Names listed by Montet in the  
Depots de Fondations

45 - Mycerinus (IV)  
 46 - Unas (V)  
 47,48 - Phiops I (VI)  
 49,50 - Phiops I (VI)  
 56-61 - Phiops II (VI)  
 62 - Phiops II (VI)

SECOND PARTCULTURAL LINKS AND CHRONOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS

In the first part of this thesis, a reconstruction of the stratigraphical sequence was developed and arranged into relative chronological periods. These periods can be divided into three main epochs each of which left its indelible mark on the culture of the city. In this part an assessment of the first two epochs, whether in architecture or pottery, will be discussed in a wider context. The third epoch falls outside the orbit of this study because it is contemporary with the first half of the second millennium B.C. The reader might find that certain cultural aspects are substantiated with more details than others, while still other aspects are only briefly referred to. Such an approach to the subject is justifiable for the following reasons:

1. Because this part does not deal with the art and architecture of Byblos for their own sake, but focuses mainly on cultural links, regional peculiarities are mentioned briefly since they do not serve a purpose here.
2. Because the pottery of Byblos in the early periods is similar to Palestinian pottery, which is well known and has already been admirably outlined by various scholars,<sup>1</sup> brief discussions

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1 See for example, K. Kenyon, Jericho I and Jericho II; Archaeology in the Holy Land. G.E. Wright, PPEB; R. de Vaux, in RB, 54 (1947) pp.403ff., 55 (1948) pp.548ff., 58(1951) pp.394ff., 62(1955) pp.553ff., 64(1957) pp.557ff., 68(1961) pp.576ff., 69(1962) pp.212ff. J.B. Hennessy, Foreign

and references will be sufficient in this context.

3. On the other hand, because new cultural aspects appear during periods JI/JII, a detailed investigation and more careful scrutiny is required so that conclusions regarding these aspects are solidly based.



CHAPTER IIIARCHITECTURE

In a small town such as Byblos (five hectares),<sup>1</sup> architecture is often influenced by size and setting. Surrounded by massive fortifications on its three sides and by the sea on its western front (Pl. I), Byblos, like all ancient towns, tended to grow upwards. Houses were superimposed on earlier ones for countless generations, but these superimposed layers did not result in a rapid vertical growth as is the case in sites where mud-brick was used for constructions.<sup>2</sup> This phenomenon is the result of the extensive use of timber in the buildings as well as the use of stone where earlier walls were constantly robbed and re-used over and over again for very long periods of time. Rubbish or debris of earlier ruins could be easily disposed of by dumping it into the sea. Moreover, deep levelling and the removal of earlier walls in the beginning of the second epoch helped to check the rise in elevation.

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1 Dunand, Byblos p.20.

2 In Area VII, where occupation was continuous all through periods KI-IV, the depth of the occupational levels amounted to 3:00m only. In Area III, the levels below the Champ des Offrandes temple, which spanned at least periods KII-IV, the depth of these levels is only 2:00m; in the latter case, a great deal of levelling has been done where probably remains of more than one period were wiped out.

## A. RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

The history of sacred architecture at Byblos as far as it is published is unfortunately incomplete. The early phases of the Enceinte Sacrée lie beneath the levels of the published plans.<sup>1</sup> Other shrines appear on Dunand's sketch plan of the site (cf. FB II, Pl. CCXII, building 29) but these are not recorded on the coloured plans nor were they mentioned in the text. However, the sequence of the major temple complex, the Baalat-Gebal (Pl. X) can be traced from its inception until its destruction at the end of JII period (Pl. XI-XVII), as well as the history of the Champ des Offrandes (Pl. VIII) and the Chapelle-Orientale (Pl. XXII-XXIV). The Obelisk complex<sup>2</sup> and the small megaron, temple XVII (Pl. XXVI, 10) yield a great wealth of material which renders the study of these temples rewarding. It will be seen later in this part that the significance of the study of sacred architecture at Byblos goes beyond the boundary of architectural analysis, because it contributes a great deal for the study of cultural relations and throws

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1 The published plans reveal a rectilinear enclosure surrounding the Enceinte Sacrée, whereas it is stated in FB II2, p.899, that an oval enclosure surrounds an earlier phase of the temple.

2 It is not certain whether an earlier phase existed below temple XIV of the Obelisk complex.

light on an epoch which has hitherto been obscure in the Levant as far as architectural activities are concerned.<sup>3</sup>

No authoritative study yet exists which fully classifies and traces the history of sacred architecture in the Levant<sup>4</sup> in contrast to the attention that Mesopotamian and Egyptian architecture have received.

This neglect is mostly due to the lack of material because a great part of Syria, the Lebanon (especially the Bekaa and the north) are virtually unexplored. In addition, many scholars view these areas as peripheral and describe their artistic achievements as eclectic, devoid of creativity and continuity.<sup>5</sup> Recently there has been an attempt to

3 The temples of Megiddo, stratum XV are the only exception. See K. Kenyon, in EI 5(1958) pp.51-60.

4 A few studies have been made on the Levantine architecture, but these mainly deal with the Palestinian temple architecture. Cf. for example: M.V. Seton Williams, in IRAQ II, (1949) pp.77-89; G.R.H. Wright, in ZAW, (1968) pp.1-34, and, in PEQ, Jan.-June (1971) pp.17-32; W.F. Albright, in Supplement to Vetus Testamentum, vol. IV, (1957) pp.242-258; S. Yeivin, in Atti e Memori, (1968) pp.1130-1148; G.E. Wright, in AAT, (1970) pp.299-319; etc....  
Other studies have been published but their main concern was specifically the temple of Solomon and its possible origins. In this respect, cf. A. Parrot, Le Temple de Jerusalem, (1954); A. Kuschke, in Das Ferne Und Nahe Wort, a Festschrift to Leonard Rost, (Berlin, 1967) pp.124-132; for a complete bibliography, see Th. Busink, in JEOL, 17 (1963) pp.165-192.

5 One of the most ardent proponents of this theory is H. Frankfort, see his books AAAO, pp. 111 and 133ff., and Birth of Civilization.



re-appraise the arts of these areas. Moortgat, as a result of his excavations at Tell Shuairra,<sup>6</sup> believes that our concepts of Sumero-Semitic spheres of culture might have to be altered, and considers the indigenous population of North Syria as proto-Hurrian. On the other hand he speaks of a Canaanite level at Mesopotamia during the first Babylonian dynasty<sup>7</sup> and asks whether there were special types of Canaanite temple ground-plans which changed the Sumerian temple. The excavations at Tell Mardikh,<sup>8</sup> Tell Shuairra<sup>9</sup> and the present material from Byblos enrich considerably the cultural repertoire of the Levant. Now since this work is a pioneer study on the architecture of Byblos, it is imperative that a coherent classification of the main categories of the material in question should be made stating the criteria under which these classifications could be arranged. A quick glance at the methods by which architecture in the ancient Near East has been classified and studied would convince us of the inapplicability of such methods to the Byblite temples.

Because of the wealth of architectural remains which are often

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6 Tell Chuera, 3rd campaign (1962) p.13.

7 AAM, p.76.

8 Paolo Mattiae, in AAAS XVII (1967) pp. 27 ff., XVIII (1968) pp. 5ff.; Davico et al., Missione Italiana, (1965, 1966, 1967).

9 A. Moortgat, Tell Chuera, 1st campaign (1960a), 2nd campaign (1960b), 3rd campaign (1962), 4th campaign (1965), 5th campaign (1967).

supplemented by graphical<sup>10</sup> and textual<sup>11</sup> evidence, Egyptian architecture is usually classified by function:<sup>12</sup> cultic temples (i.e. temples dedicated to deities),<sup>13</sup> mortuary temples (the complexes annexed to the pyramids where funerary rites were performed),<sup>14</sup> and valley temples<sup>15</sup>

- 10 A. Badawy, Le Dessin Architectural
- 11 The interpretation of religious texts can however be sometimes too subjective and far-fetched. See for example Frankfort's criticism of a joint work by H. Ricke and S. Schott in which they try to show a correspondence between the ritual and religious information supplied by the pyramid texts to the development of Egyptian funerary architecture, BiOr, No. 5, Sep. (1953), pp.157-162.
- 12 See for example, A. Badawy, Architecture, Vols. I-III. J. Vandier, Manuel, Vol. II 1 and II 2. F. Petrie, Egyptian Architecture.
- 13 A relatively few extant cultic temples from the Old Kingdom are preserved. These are: the temple at Medamud, cf. C. Robichon and Varille, Temple Primitif, pp.1-20; Vandier, Manuel II 2 pp.575-581, fig. 318-319. The sun-temple of Nyuserre at Abu-Gourab, see, J. Capart, L'Art Egyptien I, Pl.32, 33; W.S. Smith, AAAE, fig. 34 and 35. For the Sphinx temple, see S. Hassan, The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets, pp.25-29, Pl.XVI. Finally, a temple found by Petrie at Abydos, supposed to be dedicated to the god Khenti-Amentiu, later assimilated to Osiris, was in use from the 1st Dynasty down to the New-Kingdom, cf. F. Petrie, Abydos II, pp.5ff., Pl.L-LVIII. For a controversial view regarding this temple see B. Kemp in footnote 92 infra.
- 14 S. Hassan, in ZAS, No. 80 (1955), p.136. A. Badawy, Architecture I, p.68. I.E.S. Edwards, The Pyramids of Egypt.
- 15 Some very interesting reconstructions of valley temples were made. The earliest of these is Chephren's valley temple, see J. Vandier, Manuel II 1, pp.49-60, fig. 31-32. For another IVth Dynasty temple, see G. Reisner, Mycerinus, plans VIII and IX. Two other impressive valley temples belong to the Vth Dynasty, see L. Borchard, Das Grabdenkmal des Konigs Sahure, Der Bau, Vol. I, Pl.III, XVI. Das Grabdenkmal des Konigs Ne-User-Re, Pl.3. For a VIth Dynasty valley temple, see G. Jequier, Le Monument Funeraire de Pepi, II, Pl.1, 2 and 10. Also J.P. Lauer, La Pyramide a Degres, fig. 19.



built some distance away from the pyramids and attached to the latter by causeways.<sup>16</sup>

The diversity of plans at Byblos evidenced in contemporary temples throughout periods KI to KIV indicate probably that each temple had a different function where different rituals were enacted. However, we have no literary tradition or epigraphical evidence from Byblos to enlighten us on this important matter. Thus a classification of the Byblite temples after the Egyptian manner is not feasible.

The approach for the study of Mesopotamian architecture has been systematically followed by the German school of architects, the Bauforscher, ever since the time of R. Koldewey.<sup>17</sup> W. Andrae (student of the latter) after his discovery at Ashur of a temple dedicated to the goddess Ishtar,<sup>18</sup> maintained that the Mesopotamian temple plan could be classified under two main categories;<sup>19</sup> a northern type of which the Ashur temple is one, consists of a long cella with the entrance set at the end of one of the long side walls, while the altar is placed against the farthest short wall. Thus on entering the temple a worshipper had to turn sharply to the right or left so as

16 A. Badawy, op.cit., p.91.

17 See his book, Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa, WDOG XV (1911) pp.14ff.

18 DAITA, Pl. 2.

19 W. Andrae, Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im Alten Orient, pp.16ff.



to be able to face the altar.<sup>20</sup> This type of temple is therefore distinguished by its 'bent-axis' approach.<sup>21</sup> Usually a courtyard is attached at one side parallel to the hall. It is thought that this temple had been modelled after a house with a hearth in the middle of the room where the door had to be shifted to the corner, hence the term herdhaus.<sup>22</sup>

The second category was claimed to be exclusive to the south. It is characterized by a broad cella preceded by a courtyard, the entrance to which is usually a straight one, i.e. along the main axis.<sup>23</sup> As more excavations were carried out in Mesopotamia, Andrae's classification was soon disproved and the herdhaus was found to be ubiquitous in the south as well as the north.<sup>24</sup> Stimulated by these discoveries, Frankfort very successfully pointed out the similarity and continuity of certain aspects of Mesopotamian temple plans.<sup>25</sup>

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20 V. Muller, in, JAOS, 60 (1940) p.152.

21 H. Frankfort, AAAO, pp.21, 53, 54-55.

22 W. Andrae, loc.cit.

23 Andrae, op.cit., p.18, fig. 13. This classification was followed by other scholars, see for e.g., V. Muller, op.cit., esp. pp.168ff.

24 This was especially confirmed after excavations in the Diyala area; see, P. Delougaz and S. Lloyd, Pre-Sargonic Temples, esp. H. Frankfort's article, ibid., pp.299-312.

25 H. Frankfort, loc.cit.; also AAAO, pp.2-9, 20-23, 51-56.

To him, the distinguishing element of these temples is a long cella with a bent-axis approach.<sup>26</sup>

In a recent study, David Oates<sup>27</sup> returns to the subject of form in Mesopotamian temple architecture, where he emphasizes the differences between northern and southern temple plans. He believes that the southern broad room cella of the Ur III period (probably originating in Akkadian times) was introduced to the north by Shamshi Adad I (1813-1781 B.C., according to CAH 2, fasc. 28), who had lived in Babylonia. His observation regarding the Ur III temple plans of Assyria is legitimate since no broad cellae were found there prior to Shamshi Adad I. However, it is dangerous to overstress this point since relatively few temples have been uncovered in the north; perhaps future excavations may reveal earlier temples with broad cellae. Moreover, the north Syrian city Mari, which is considered to have formed a part of Mesopotamian cultural sphere, has yielded two temples of the Akkadian-Ur III period (probably earlier) with broad cellae.<sup>28</sup> One of these is fronted with a portico (Pl. XXVII, 6). Did Mari play a part in the diffusion of this architectural style to Mesopotamia or

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26 Frankfort's theory of continuity and development suffers from the lack of analysis and interpretation of the broad cellae which appeared in the Ur III period.

27 I am grateful to Professor D. Oates for allowing me to read and quote his unpublished manuscript on Mesopotamian temple architecture which was presented in July 1972 to the Rencontre Assyriologique.

28 A. Parrot, in SYRIA XXI (1940) pp.5-7, fig. 4; ibid., Vol. XXXII (1955) p.208; ibid., Vol. XXXIX (1962) p.172.

was it only a bridge over which ideas crossed? These and other related questions will be discussed later.

Heinrich,<sup>29</sup> on the other hand, after a study of the architectural designs engraved on the glyptic of the Uruk and Jamdat Nasr periods, concludes that the early Mesopotamian temple is the result of a fusion of two architectural traditions which belong to two originally strictly separate spheres of life. The first of these belongs to the rural category where reed huts, cattle pens, cattle and men are often engraved on the seals of those periods. Their connection with the sphere of gods is only depicted by way of abstract symbols. The second tradition<sup>30</sup> is represented by flat roofed buildings with recessed walls (identified by the author as the Uruk type temples which he thinks stem from a half-timbered architectural tradition). These temples are always shown in conjunction with scenes depicting religious rituals or with scenes of mythical content. The union of these two traditions are best seen in Tepe-Gawra XIII<sup>31</sup> in the north and in Eridu XI,<sup>32</sup> in the south. At Warka both traditions are

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29 Bauwerke in der Altsumerischen Bildkunst, pp.91-92.

30 Ibid., p.91.

31 A.J. Tobler, Excavations at Tepe-Gawra, Vol. II, Pl. XII.

32 S. Lloyd, ILN, Sep. 11 (1948), fig.3.



represented but these are placed in spatial relationship to each other.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, Heinrich<sup>34</sup> believes that the Uruk type temple is closely associated with the hearth house, and the transition from the former to the latter can be followed in the Sin temple at Khafaji.<sup>35</sup> This form he believes, spread later to Syria-Palestine and Asia-Minor.<sup>36</sup>

Apparently, the early temples of Byblos lack the uniformity which distinguishes the Mesopotamian temples. Also it is not always possible to identify the main cella in these early temples, nor were the altars always preserved. Thus it is useless to attempt a classification of the Byblite temples along the Mesopotamian lines. Whether Heinrich's postulated theory that the hearth-house temple-form spread from its centre of gravity, Mesopotamia, to the Levant, and whether this cultural diffusion is evidenced at Byblos or not, will be discussed later after a short survey of the Byblite temple forms.

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33 E. Heinrich, *op.cit.*, p.96. The author identifies the terraces in the Warka complex (levels V-IVb) whose wall divisions do not consist of angular pillars and niches but of rounded off half-column-like elements placed close to one another, while their surfaces are covered with cone mosaics, as imitating reed huts. But here the reed hut or Penfold house clearly assumes monumental dimensions appropriate enough for a dwelling of the god of the area.

34 Heinrich, *loc.cit.*, the author means here that the integrated Uruk type temple of Sin I (having long cella with side chambers) developed into one or two simple long rooms without side chambers, flanked on one side with courtyards enclosing ovens, bins, etc.

35 See Pre-Sargonic Temples, Pl. 2-13.

36 E. Heinrich, *op.cit.*, p.92.

The instrument for the classification of sacred architecture at Byblos will be, therefore, a chronological investigation of the different ground plans of the temples in each period where the overall shape of the buildings, their spatial arrangement and orientation are the main criteria.

The detailed layout of the temples have been sufficiently described in Chapter I B. The main concern here will be:

- (1) to classify the distinguishing characteristics of each temple in different periods and to demonstrate the continuity of certain architectural features inherent in the early temples and reproduced in later ones.
- (2) to assess the cultural and stylistic significance of the architecture at Byblos by tracing their possible antecedents and contemporary connections from periods KI to JII, with a special emphasis on the post-destruction epoch - its historical significance and correspondence to the stratigraphical and cultural aspects of the city.

(1) Typology and Development.

- a. Temples of periods KI/KII: the earliest temple so far published is batiment XVIII (Pl. XI, 2-3) which lasted throughout periods KI to KII. In its earliest phase, this temple consisted of a simple oblong hall. Later a large court, A, was appended to its southern side parallel to the hall. Subsequently the hall was partitioned into two rooms B and

C (Pl. XI, 2). The published evidence does not indicate which part of the temple served as a cella because no altar is marked in either part. Probably a wooden altar was set between the pilasters but this remains a mere assumption. This building exhibits a 'bent-axis' approach because access to it is restricted to three narrow passages set at the end of the long side walls. This arrangement is reproduced in temple XIII, period KIV (Pl. III 2), but the latter is more symmetrical and assumes the shape of a square.

Period KIII: the Hypostyle temple of the Baalat complex (Pl. XII) was built after the destruction of bâtiment XVIII. Foreign influence is evident in its masonry which is of well hammer-dressed stone laid horizontally in imitation of brick-bonding (Pl. XVIII, 1, right-hand corner). This type of masonry remained an isolated feature in the history of architecture at Byblos. Other important features appear for the first time in the sacred architecture of the city, namely the open porch and twin entrances leading to a hypostyle hall. Not all of this temple is preserved, but the extant remains are sufficient to enable one to envisage its facade and middle part.

The other temple of this period is the Chapelle Orientale in its first phase Pl. XXII, 1. It is a square shrine built on a podium. It has an L shaped altar in the middle with a basin set near its eastern corner. This shrine retained its square shape throughout periods KIII to JII and probably till later. It is not possible to determine whether it was an open air sanctuary, which is very plausible,



or a roofed one.

Period KIV: The Baalat temple has developed into a huge complex; its most important features are the two facades Pls. XIV-XVI, a southern one inherited from the hypostyle temple while a new monumental entrance was opened up above the pilasters of the eastern wall of what used to be batiment XVIII. The other important feature is the existence of a rectangular hall in the middle of the complex which probably served as a cella. This hall was largely open to the south and probably was unroofed. In the reconstruction of this temple, a baetylo is shown in the middle of the cella, but its existence is hypothetical. However, no altar was reported from this complex. The square temple XIII (Pl. III, 2) (later formed a part of the Obelisk complex Pls. II and IV) has a strangely shaped structure with four niches placed in the middle of hall A. Both a straight and bent-axis approaches are functional here. Probably the plan of this temple was derived from that of batiment XVIII, period KII. Near the Baalat complex, a rectangular hall, (blg XXVII) with a recess in its eastern wall and facing the Sacred Pool, was built (see Plan I). Its sacred character is dubious since nothing was found in this building to indicate its religious identity.

The Chapelle Orientale is now fronted with a columned portico (or peristyle) on the north, Pl. XXII, 2. Two piers demarcate a broad shallow room, most probably a cella, to the east. Two entrances parallel to each other are opened in the northern and southern walls

of the temple. If the marked-out room is in fact a cella, then this shrine also reflects a bent-axis approach. A new constructional element appears namely, a retaining wall (or platform ?) the remains of which still exist at the western and southern parts of the shrine.

It is unlikely that the building which underlies the Champ des Offrandes temple was designed for religious purposes. There is nothing in its layout which could indicate such a destination. Its plan is essentially an elaborate dwelling which consists of several small rooms flanked by a courtyard to the west (Pl. XXIX, 4). This blg. is treated with domestic architecture (see infra, Section B). The following are the prominent characteristics of periods KI to KIV temples:

1. the square shaped temple is quite common; it is exemplified in temple XIII, Pl. II, 2, and the Chapelle Orientale (Pl. XXII, 1-2).
2. the open porch skirting the facade of a temple and the twin passages leading to a Hypostyle hall, first appear in the Hypostyle temple, period KIII (Pl. XII and XV). A shallow porch also appears in temple XIII, period KIV (Pl. III2 and XXV, 2).
3. the use of a long cella open to the sky with perhaps a baetyla set in the middle (Pl. XIII-XV), or a roofed cella with a niched altar placed in the centre of the cella (Pl. II and III 2). There is also evidence for a broad shallow cella (Pl. XXII 2).
4. The Baalat complex is characterized by having two main facades, one open to the south, while the other opens to the east (Pl. XV and XVI). This arrangement is adopted in later temples of periods JI/JII.
5. another feature characterizes the Baalat complex, period KIV. This is the building of a series of apartments appended to the northern side of the temple (Pl. XIII-XIV). Probably, these Units served as lodgings for the priests of the temples, an evidence for the existence of a complex cult.

The stratigraphical record at Byblos vividly shows a break in the occupation of the site and a fundamental change in the ground-plans of the temples after period KIV (see summaries of Areas I-VII, and figs. 7e, 12b, 25a). The post destruction epoch revealed two periods, JI/JII.

b. Temples of JI/JII, I11...2: the temples of these two periods assume a formal design, namely the megaron style. All the cellae are widely open to the east. The Baalat complex is now replaced by a twin sanctuary of the long room type (Pl. XVII). Sanctuary B (to the right) has a tripartite arrangement, a porch, a vestibule and a square cella. The E sanctuary on the left has thick cross walls (Pl. XIX 1), which served probably as substructures for constructional columns or pillars, and for raising the floor level as well (see methods of construction in Section C). These twin sanctuaries are preceded by a monumental stairway, which opens to the south.

The Obelisk complex consists of three contiguous cellae in-antis (Pl. III, 1 and V). The middle hall is of the long form while the lateral cellae are square. They are preceded by a forecourt which opens to the south (Pl. II and IV). The arrangement of these two major temples is quite interesting because they are reminiscent of a similar arrangement evidenced at the Baalat complex of period KIV in that the latter had two main entrances, one opened to the south while the other faced eastwards (Pl. XV-XVI).



The Chapelle Orientale still retains its square shape, but what was a broad cella is now a porch between antae fronting the cella which faces eastwards (Pl. XXIII 3 and XXIV 2). A circular altar was placed in the cella slightly off-centre towards the northern side. Later, in period JII, the passage between the two transverse walls which separated cella from porch was blocked, while a big stone slab, probably for carrying a cult statue, was set outside in the porch on the same axis as the altar, Pl. XXIII, 4.

A small megaron, shrine XVII (Pl. XXVI, 10), has a square cella and a broad shallow ante-cella (?). It is fronted by a porch on its south-east side while a second deep porch slightly narrower than the main body of the shrine, is appended to the north-west side of the cella. The Champ des Offrandes temple (Pl. VIII), is greatly disturbed and the extant remains show a square podium set within an irregular court, surrounded by a trapezoidal peribolos. Access to the courtyard is by means of three steps built at the eastern end of the latter. Like the Obelisk forecourt (Pl. IV), the floor of this temple is lower than the ground outside (see section in Pl. VIII). The square podium could have been an open sanctuary because there is nothing to suggest that it was roofed (see analysis of this temple in Area III, fig. 9, and Summary of that Area).

The Encèinte Sacrée consists of a cella in which an altar is set slightly off-centre (Pl. XXVIII, 8). A basin is built in the eastern corner of the cella. South of the temple, few steps lead to the

Sacred Well where a pottery deposit (18106-18249) dating from a later period was found (see Chap. II and IV B).

The main features of temples JI/JII are the following:

1. The temples of this period with the exception of the Champ des Offrandes and Enceinte Sacrée are of the in-antis or megaron style.
2. All the cellae are either square, or deep and broad, and uniformly face the east. (Pl. III 1, XVII, XXIII 3-4, XXVIII 4, 8).
3. Porches either have two columns in-antis or are fronted by a low wall (Pl. V, XVII, XXIII 3-4, XXVI, 10).
4. The Obelisk and Baalat complexes have indirect side entrances which open to the south, while their main cellae open to the east (Pl. II, XVII; cf. with Pl. IX 4 and Pl. XIII-XVI).
5. Possible evidence of a hypaethral sanctuary (Pl. VIII).
6. Altars, when preserved, are mostly set in the middle of the cellae and not against the walls. This practice is evidenced from the earlier periods (Pl. XXIII 3-4, XXVIII 8; cf. with Pl. III 2 and XV).

At the end of JII another stratigraphical break is evidenced at Byblos followed by a change in the temple ground-plans, and the material culture as well. The epoch following this break is designated by the letter H. Though this period falls outside the orbit of this study, the main features of the three major temples will be outlined below:

The Baalat complex has been rebuilt on the same lines. An important change however appears in sanctuary E which has become hypaethral at this stage. A few steps built in its western end lead to an extra-mural altar (Pl. XIX 2).

The Obelisk complex has completely changed its character. The three cellae of former times are now replaced by an open-air elevated sanctuary divided into a cella and pro-cella facing the east, and surrounded by a peribolos wall. An antechamber with a bent-axis approach was appended to the sanctuary; it communicated with the latter by means of a paved passage (fig. 7a, top plan). To this and the succeeding periods belong most of the jar deposits (see Area I, analysis of fig. 7-7a).

The Enceinte Sacrée still retains the basic arrangement of JI/JII periods, but now the southern room or the pro-cella is considerably smaller than the main cella. The main entrance to the courtyard seems to be from the south-east, but the cellae open to the east (Pl. XXVIII, 6).

#### Elements of Continuity in Sacred Architecture at Byblos.

It was seen above that the first appearance of an open porch skirting the façade of a temple occurred in the hypostyle temple of KIII period which at the same time reveals foreign influences as evidenced in the technique of its masonry. This feature (i.e. open porch) becomes the dominant characteristic of sacred architecture at Byblos in periods JI/JII.

The southern and eastern façades which characterize the Baalat complex in period KIV are evidenced in the indirect side entrances of the Obelisk and Baalat complexes of periods JI/JII, which open to the south,



while their cellae open widely to the east (comp. Pl. XIII-XVI with II and XVII). Whether this architectural tradition has any religious significance is difficult to confirm, but the fact that this tradition was still maintained in the Roman temple at Byblos (Pl. IX 4) is quite significant.

The square shaped temple is evidenced at Byblos from period KIII or probably earlier (Pl. XXII 1); through KIV (Pl. XXII 2; III 2), and remains in popular use throughout periods JI/JII (Pl. XXIII 3-4: VIII). The square cella becomes dominant in the latter periods as evidenced in the Baalat temple bâtiment II (Pl. XVII), the Obelisk cellae (Pl. III 1), the Enceinte Sacrée (Pl. XXVIII, 8), and the small megaron (Pl. XXVI, 10).

It is interesting to follow the continuity evidenced in the Chapelle Orientale. This shrine has been rebuilt time and again with its walls reproduced on the same alignment. Changes were confined to inner partitions and directional emphasis. It was possible to achieve such changes without destroying the basic layout of the shrine due to its centralised form. If religious dogmatism demanded that the altar should face north or south, east or west for example, it was sufficient to open a doorway in one side and block the other, thus achieving religious formalism without much damage to the building in question. The final element which probably reveals a certain continuity in the cult is the position of the altar. Though not all

the temples have their altars preserved, there is enough to indicate the continuity of tradition in this respect. In period KIII the altar occupied the centre of the cella (Pl. XXII 1). In KIV there is again evidence for a central altar (Pl. III 2). In JI/JII, the altar is circular and slightly off centre (Pl. XXIII, 4) or oblong (Pl. XXVIII, 8). Finally, in period H, the altar is either extra-mural (Pl. XIX 2), or is replaced by the symbol of the cult which is set in the centre of a hypaethral cella (Pl. XXVIII, 5; see FB II, Pl. XXVII 1; Byblos, p.51).

With this general survey of the Byblite temples, the reader no doubt is well aware that all through the survey we have refrained from rigid classification and systematization. This attitude was adopted due to the incomplete records from Byblos. In such cases, a great measure of flexibility would be recommended. Moreover, following Frankfort's words in his comment on Koldewey's systematic classification, he says,<sup>37</sup> '... systematic distinctions ... are often illuminating ... but the danger of forcing abstractions upon incongruous material will ever be present'.

## 2. Cultural Links.

After this general survey of the temples at Byblos, it is pertinent here to ask if there is a specific Byblite or, in the wider sense, a

Canaanite temple plan. If so, has it evolved in the coastal regions of Canaan as a truly indigenous creation or is it a syncretization of Egypto-Mesopotamian architectural concepts? To answer this question, we must look first for possible antecedents to what we know of the Canaanite temple plans, mainly those represented by temples discovered at Byblos. Second, to compare the Byblos temple plans with the typical ground plans in those countries and discuss their impact, if any, on the Byblite sacred architecture.

a. Periods KI to KIV. It was seen above that the earliest dated temple at Byblos is batiment XVIII Pl. XI 3. The closest analogy to this temple can be found at Khafaji (Mesopotamia) in the Small temple (Pl. XXV, 5), whose origins slightly pre-date the Early Dynastic I period.<sup>38</sup> Both temples show a similar evolution from a single oblong cella to a room flanked by a large and rather irregular courtyard.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the two pilasters in court A of batiment XVIII have parallels in the Sin temple of Khafaji phases VII-X (end of EDI-EDIII)<sup>40</sup> where two similar buttresses formed a permanent feature

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38 Pre-Sargonid Temples, Pl.17 and fig. 115.

39. It should be noted that in the 6th-7th and 9th building phases, the Small temple developed another cella flanking the opposite side of the courtyard. See ibid., Pl.17 f, g and i. The closest analogy to batiment XVIII is the 8th building phase, ibid., Pl. 17 h.

40 Ibid., Pl. 10-12 and fig. 115. E. Porada, Chronologies, p.178



of the courtyard of the latter. Whether these similarities are a mere coincidence or an indication of Mesopotamian cultural influence is rather difficult to judge. However, Mesopotamian influence at Byblos is attested by the numerous sherds bearing designs of cylinder seals which are considered to have been derived from the Jamdat Nasr glyptic style<sup>41</sup> (Pl. XLV). Besides, the discovery of two lapis-lazuli cylinder seals one Fara style (Pl. XLVI, 1), usually dated to the Early Dynastic II period,<sup>42</sup> while the other is engraved with the so-called banquet scene<sup>43</sup> (Pl. XLVI, 3) of ED III period,<sup>44</sup> is a further proof of contacts with Mesopotamia. Unfor-

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- 41 M. Dunand, BG, Pl. VII, pp.59-70. H. Frankfort in CS pp.230-232, attributes the technique of impressing seals on jars to the Syrians, but the motifs of these seals, he relates to Mesopotamian EDI style, especially the tête-bêche motif which he considers to be related to the brocade style which was not found in the Jamdat Nasr period. See also Engberg and Shipton, Notes, pp.31-39. P. Amiet, on the other hand, considers the flat relief and tête-bêche designs as related to Susa and not Mesopotamia, see Glyptique, p.43. Frankfort, loc.cit., quoting Dunand, sees the flat reliefs on the Byblian seals as a result of the use of wooden cylinder seals.
- 42 P. Amiet, op.cit., pp.54-55, 64, fig. 946, 949, 950, 956, etc.: H. Frankfort, CS, pp.40-50.
- 43 P. Amiet, op.cit., p.119, 123-130, fig. 1182, 1185-86. A. Parrot, MAMI, Pl. LXVI, no. 587. C.L. Woolley, RC, Pl.194, nos. 2 and 27, Pl.203, nos. 138 and 141.
- 44 The fact that the Byblos seal is to be dated to EDIII, though according to Amiet, this type originated in EDI-II, see loc.cit., is because similar seals were found in the Royal Cemetery of Ur. H.J. Nissen who made a study of this cemetery thinks that these types of seals should be dated exclusively to the reign of Meskalamdug, father of Akalamdug, see the latter's article in SUMER, 22 (1966) pp.17-22, Arabic trans. This sequence postulated by Nissen is contradictory to the conventionally held one which considers Meskalamdug as the son of the latter and not his father, see M.

Unfortunately, the former seal was not found in a stratified context, but the latter was found within the Baalat complex and could be associated with periods KIII/KIV of this temple (see supra, analysis of fig. 13 and Summary of Area IV, periods KIII/KIV). However, it should be noted here that the Small temple of Khafaji is not representative of the typical early Mesopotamian temple-plan as known from Uruk,<sup>45</sup> Eridu,<sup>46</sup> Uqair,<sup>47</sup> Tepe-Gawra,<sup>48</sup> and the early phases of the Sin<sup>49</sup> temple at Khafaji. It lacks the unity of the latter temples and its

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Mallowan, in CAH 2, 62 (1968) pp.10 & 45. Mallowan dates the reign of Meskalam to EDIIIA or beginning of EDIIIB, loc.cit.; Frankfort assigns the majority of the Royal Tombs to EDIIIB, while E. Porada prefers a date in EDIIIA, see Chronologies, p.162. Moreover, this seal must have been imported from Mesopotamia because it is made of lapis-lazuli. It is known that this stone was used in EDII, but became abundant only in EDIII, see G. Herrman in IRAQ XXX, no. 1 (1968) pp.21-67.

- 45 H. Lenzen, Archaeology 17, No. 2 (1964), plan on p.124.  
A. Moortgat, AAM, fig. 1-4, pp.2-5.
- 46 S. Lloyd/F. Safar, in SUMER, Vol. 3, no. 2, fig. 2.
- 47 Idem., in JNES, 2 (1943), pp.135ff. and Pl.V.
- 48 A. Tobler, Excavations at Tepe-Gawra, Vol. II, Pl.XI-XII and XXXVII-XXXVIII.
- 49 Pre-Sargonid Temples, Pl. 2-3.

cellae do not have side chambers as is typical of the Uruk type temples. Though the cellae of the Small temple are essentially similar to those of various other Mesopotamian shrines as is seen in the square Abu temple at tell Asmar,<sup>50</sup> Ur,<sup>51</sup> Ashur,<sup>52</sup> tell Agrab<sup>53</sup> and the Oval at Khafaji,<sup>54</sup> and despite the arguments adduced by Frankfort<sup>55</sup> favouring such similarity, the Small temple does not reflect the same architectural concept as the latter buildings because evidently it lacks their purposeful planning and arrangement. It was seen above that the small temple grew over the ages by a system of accretion from an oblong cella to a cella with an irregular courtyard flanked on the other side by a second cella. In fact this Small temple can be more related to the hearth-house-temple-form as defined

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50 Ibid., Pl. 22 and fig. 133.

51 C.L. Woolley, UE V, Pl. 60.

52 W. Andrae, DAITA, Pl. 2.

53 Pre-Sargonid Temples, fig. 203 and 176-177.

54 P. Delougaz, The Temple Oval at Khafaji, Pl. IV.

55 Pre-Sargonid Temples, pp.299-312. Though Frankfort has successfully pointed out the essential similarities between northern and southern temples, taking the long cella with its 'bent-axis' approach as the main criteria of these similarities, there remain differences. not between north and south but within the same areas themselves which cannot be ignored. These are seen mainly in the differences in general layouts which reflect different architectural concepts. Thus Heinrich's theory of seeing the Mesopotamian temple-plans as originating from two different traditions which belong to two different spheres of life, rural and urban, explains an urgent need for this difficult problem. (see supra p.308 ).



by Heinrich<sup>56</sup> and as evidenced in the Nintu<sup>57</sup> temple and the late phases of the Sin<sup>58</sup> temple. The objection here to Heinrich's theory is whether it is legitimate to consider an untidy makeshift-plan as the hearth-house-temple-form, here exemplified by the Small temple, an architectural concept the achievement of which necessitates cultural borrowing. It can be rightly argued that in the absence of formal design dictated by certain canons, proportions or distinctive tectonic or decorative elements, it becomes difficult to make associations. However, it may be, the latter view remains somewhat subjective in the absence of valid proofs to the contrary. Thus further investigations are required to assess whether the so-called hearth-house-temple-form is truly widespread in the Levant as has been suggested above by Heinrich.

If we follow the history of batiment XVIII (Pl. XI 2, XII-XVI), we find that its development differs radically from the Mesopotamian temples. Moreover temple XIII (Pl. III 2), which basically exhibits a similar arrangement to batiment XVIII, shows clearly how the untidy layout of an earlier temple develops into a symmetrical and unified entity.

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56 See supra note 34,

57 Pre-Sargonid Temples, fig. 84 and Pl. 16.

58 Ibid., Pl. 6-12.

The early temples of Palestine do not conform to the hearth-house-temple-form and the examples which can be cited from Jericho,<sup>59</sup> Megiddo<sup>60</sup> and tell Farah<sup>61</sup> are single rooms without courtyards. The citadel of 'Ai,<sup>62</sup> if it is a temple as some consider it to be,<sup>63</sup> is not dissimilar in plan from the Tepe-Gawra temple, level XIII<sup>64</sup>. No altar was discovered in the 'Ai building; thus it is not known whether the altar, if it existed, was placed against the short side wall or in the middle of the long side wall. The entrance which is reconstructed as being in the middle of the long side wall,<sup>65</sup> is merely conjectural since the walls are broken. In fact the enclosure at the back with the rounded-off corners and the suggestion of a porch in front, shows some originality (see infra, section C). Very few early temples have been uncovered in Syria. The examples from tell Shuairra<sup>66</sup> are of the megaron style, reflecting a totally

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59 J. Garstang, The Story of Jericho, pp. 78-79, fig. 8.

60 G. Loud, Megiddo II, p. 61.

61 R. de Vaux, in RB (1961) pp. 577ff., 584, Pl. XXXIII, no. 671.

62 J.A. Callaway, in BASOR, no. 178 (1965) p. 32, fig. 12, Syria XVI (1935) p. 346, fig. 8.

63 G.E. Wright, see note 7. W. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, p. 76.

64 H. Frankfort, Pre-Sargonid Temples, fig. 213 (central temple).

65 G.H. Wright in, PEQ, Jan.-June (1971) fig. 6B, p. 30. Wright here copies the original reconstruction which was published in SYRIA, see supra, note 62.

66 A Moortgat, Tell Chuera (1959) pp. 9-13, Ill.9; ibid., (1962) pp. 11-13, plan IV 1; ibid., (1967) Kleiner Anten Tempel, Ill.17, schicht 1-3.

different temple type than the hearth-house concept. Even at Mari, which is considered to be within the Mesopotamian cultural sphere, its temples cannot be considered typically Mesopotamian although they reflect certain Mesopotamian motifs.<sup>67</sup> In fact the Mari temples show western affinities<sup>68</sup> also as will be demonstrated below.

It seems that batiment XVIII remains the only convincing example of possible architectural borrowing from Mesopotamia.

In view of these considerations, the concept of a hearth-house-temple-form originating in Mesopotamia and spreading further to the Levant, must remain within the sphere of hypothesis until further and more convincing examples can be adduced in its favour.

After the destruction of batiment XVIII, the Hypostyle temple was built. It was mentioned above that foreign influence is apparent in the technique of its masonry and in the layout as well (Pl. XII, XVIII 1). A similar phenomenon appears at 'Ai where a new acropolis-citadel<sup>69</sup> temple (previously known as palace)<sup>70</sup> was built after the destruction of an earlier

67 For example the recessing in the walls of certain temples. Cf. court 12 in the Ninni-Zaza temple in MAM III, Pl. II-III; the entrance to the Ninkursag temple, cf. SYRIA XXI (1940) p. 6, fig. 4. The walls of the courtyard of Ishtar temple c-b and the northern wall of cella 18 in MAM I, Pl. IV, VI, VIII and fig. 23. Also H. Frankfort regards cella 18 as typically Mesopotamian being a long cella with a bent-axis approach, cf. Pre-Sargonid Temples, pp. 299ff.

68 A. Moortgat points out the Canaanite elements in certain Mari temples, see infra p. 332 note 96. G.H. Wright, op.cit. p. 28, speaks of the Syrianized aspects of the Mari temples.

69 Cf. note 62, supra.

70 J. Marquet-Krause, 'Ai, pp. 14ff.



citadel. The walls of this new building, like those of the Hypostyle temple at Byblos, are built of hammer-dressed stones laid horizontally in imitation of brick-bonding. The excavator<sup>71</sup> who dates this building to the first half of the third millennium, sees a strong Egyptian influence in the technique of its masonry. At Byblos Egyptian presence is strongly felt throughout periods KIII to KIV. Vessels inscribed with the names of pharaohs of the IVth dynasty down to the end of the VIth dynasty,<sup>72</sup> were found within or near the Baalat complex precincts. It is supposed that certain vessels, mainly those of the VIth dynasty, were 'inscribed expressly for export to Byblos!'.<sup>73</sup> So far no vessels inscribed with the names of the IIIrd<sup>74</sup> dynasty pharaohs were reported from this site. Dunand ascribes bâtiment II to the reign of Khasekhemwy,<sup>75</sup> the last king of the IInd Egyptian dynasty. It should

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71 Cf. Callaway in note 62, supra.

72 FB I, p. 304. Also cf. supra, Area IV, analysis of fig. 13.

73 H.G. Fischer, Dendera, p. 39.

74 Fragments of an alabaster offering table inscribed with the name of Nefer-Sechem-Re (an Egyptian official) were found scattered in different levees of bâtiment XVIII. See supra, analysis of the Baalat complex of Area IV in chap. 1B, fig. 13, under phase 3. P. Montet tentatively assigns these fragments to the Egyptian IIIrd Dynasty, see KEMI XVI (1962) p. 87, while W. Ward prefers a date in the IVth Dynasty, see BMB XVII (1964) pp. 37ff.

75 An alabaster fragment, no. 1115, bearing the inscription of Khasekhemwy, last king of the IInd Egyptian Dynasty, was found on the surface near the temple precincts. See table 8 for a list of the names of Egyptian kings found at Byblos.

be remembered that the sherd bearing the prenomen of the latter was found on the surface near the Baalat complex. Thus its ascription to a specific phase of the temple is merely a subjective inference.

Besides it has been shown above on stratigraphical grounds that batiment II cannot be dated to the Old Kingdom, but in fact belongs to the post destruction period which took place at the end of the VIth dynasty.

The other features of the Hypostyle temple which deserve careful scrutiny are the open porch and the twin passages which lead to a hypostyle hall. All these features sound Egyptian in character.

In fact the closest analogy to this temple is found in Chephren's

valley temple.<sup>76</sup> The latter is distinguished by its twin passages<sup>77</sup>

set in the facade leading to a hypostyle hall.<sup>78</sup> Thus it is not a

coincidence that Hathor who is assimilated with the Lady of Byblos

(Baalat),<sup>79</sup> is especially associated with the valley temple of Chephren.<sup>80</sup>

Hathor, in fact, was chosen as the patroness of the royal family of

Dynasty IV.<sup>81</sup> The Maidum valley temple of Sneferu, first king of

76 J. Vandier, Manuel II 1, pp. 49-60.

77 Ibid., fig. 31, 32.

78 Ibid., fig. 33-34.

79 Several alabaster sherds are inscribed with the name of Hathor, mistress of Byblos. See especially fragment 3867 interpreted by Montet in Kemi, (1962) pp. 83-85. Also no. 3233 by Fischer in Dendera, p. 39, note 162.

80 W. Smith, AAAE, p. 66.

81 Ibid., p. 8.

Dynasty IV, seems to have been endowed also with a twin passage set in the facade.<sup>82</sup> Also the mortuary temple of the latter at Dahshur has a southern facade fronted by a porch and surrounded by a low wall.<sup>83</sup>

A contemporary sacred building to the Hypostyle temple is the Chapelle Orientale of period KIII (Pl. XXII 1). It is a square sanctuary with an altar in the middle. The earliest evidence of a square temple occurs at Eridu level XVI<sup>84</sup> in the Al-'Ubaid period. This is so much removed in time from the Byblos shrine that any connection with the latter would be quite unlikely. The square shaped temple becomes popular in Mesopotamia in the Early Dynastic period; but these temples are complexes which consist of several shrines of the long room type like the square Abu temple at tel-Asmar,<sup>85</sup> the Shara temple<sup>86</sup> at tell Agrab and the Early Dynastic temple at Ur.<sup>87</sup> These complexes apparently bear no relationship to the unicellular sanctuary at Byblos.

82 J. Vandier, op.cit., p. 9, fig. 3.

83 Ibid., fig. 11, upper; A. Badawy, Architecture I, p. 95, fig. 64.

84 S. Lloyd, ILN, Sep. 11 (1948) pp. 303-305, fig. 3. A. Perkins, Comparative Archaeology, p. 87.

85 Cf. note 50.

86 Cf. note 53.

87 C.L. Wolley, UE V, Pl. 66.



On the other hand, the scarcity of the cultic temples<sup>88</sup> of Old Kingdom Egypt reduces the value of a comparative survey between the latter and the Byblos square temple.

The Abydos temple<sup>89</sup> dedicated to Khentiamentiw, discovered long ago by Petrie, has been taken ever since as a model of Old Kingdom temples. J.P. Lauer<sup>90</sup> found a similar building in Djoser's complex and directly identified it as a sanctuary by analogy with the Abydos temple. Recently B. Kemp<sup>91</sup> made a study of the stratigraphy of the so-called Abydos temple based on Petrie's field notes, and came out with a controversial theory which, if proved right, would render the extensive literature that has been devoted to that temple obsolete. Kemp very convincingly argues that the so-called Abydos temple is in fact a store room dated perhaps to a period later than the VIth dynasty; whereas the real temple must be a square building situated a little further away from the latter. However, very little of that square temple is preserved, and a comparison with the Byblos sanctuary would be very inconclusive. The other cult temple of the Old Kingdom

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88 J. Vandier, Manuel II 2, p. 595; W. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt, pp. 51-52; L. Habachi, Tell Basta, pp. 37-38.

89 W.F. Petrie, Abydos II, pp. 7-22, Pl. L-LVIII.

90 J.P. Lauer, La Pyramide a Degrees, Pl. LV.

91 B.J. Kemp, MDAIK, 23 (1968) pp. 148-152.

is the strangely constructed Osirian at Medamud.<sup>92</sup> Though the excavators of that temple suggest that the Osiris cult was borrowed from Byblos, there is nothing in the plan of that temple to indicate an architectural link with the Byblite temples in general. Several square temples which exist in Egypt are funerary, but these are complexes which consist of several rooms, magazines and a maze of corridors.<sup>93</sup>

From Palestine, no square temples prior to the Middle Bronze Age have been reported.<sup>94</sup>

It was seen above that three important temples at Byblos can be dated to period KIV. These are temple XIII (Pl. III: 2), the Chapelle Orientale (Pl. XXII: 2) and the Baalat complex (Pl. XIII-XVI).

In the pre-Sargonid level at Mari, the Ninni-Zaza complex<sup>95</sup> has a long room, cella 13, flanked by a large square room (no. 12) in the middle of which a baetyl stands (Pl. XXV 1). There is a great similarity in the arrangement of these two rooms to temple XIII at

92 C. Robichon and Varille, Temple Primitif, pp. 1-20.

93 See G. Reisner, Mycerinus, plans I and IX as examples of these complexes.

94 The small Nahariyah cult temple is dated to the Middle Bronze Age IIA, see IEJ VI (1956) fig. 1, pp. 14ff. The other square temple at Tenanir is dated to MB IIC, see G.E. Wright in AAT (1970) fig. 5, no. 3, pp. 314-315, note 39. Also a late Bronze Age square temple was uncovered by J.B. Hennessy, see PEQ (1966) pp. 155-162.

95 A. Parrot, MAM III, Pl. II, III and VI, pp. 22-34.

Byblos (Pl. XXV 2). In fact Moortgat<sup>96</sup> was the first who noted the Canaanite influence in the Ninni-Zaza complex as represented by the square room with its baetyl and the steps which lead down to cella 13; according to him one ascends rather than descends to the Sumerian cella.

At this stage the Chapelle Orientale is preceded by a portico (or rather peristyle) on the north side (Pl. XXIV 1 and XXV 4). It is again at Mari in the Ishtar temple c-b<sup>97</sup> that we find a somewhat similar architectural concept (Pl. XXV 3). It seems porticos were popular at Mari because in the centre of a residential area, east of the Ishtar temple, and in a pre-Sargonid level, a huge public

96 A. Moortgat in, BMit, 4 (1968) pp. 222, 224-26 and notes 12-13. Idem., AAM p. 37. It must be pointed out that the excavator of Mari refers to the existence of this baetyl as an important document which shows that the Mari baetyl if not the oldest, is at least contemporary with the earliest standing pillars of Gezer, cf. A. Parrot, op.cit., p.26. However, Parrot does not attempt to make any architectural connections between the Mari temple and Canaanite architecture. It is interesting to note that the Gezer 'High Place' is now being dated to the MB Age, see W. Dever in PEQ, Jan.-June (1973) pp. 68-70.

97 A. Parrot, MAM I, Pl. IV, VI, pp. 13-28. For the probable dating of these two stages of the temple, see Mallowan, in CAH 2, 62 (1968) pp. 48-49. E. Porada Chronologies, chart 3. The excavator does not give precise dating, he only thinks that phases c, b, a, are very close in time and the latest of these, phase a, was destroyed about the 25th cen. BC, but was rebuilt in the 2nd millennium, cf. Parrot op.cit., p. 42.



portico was discovered.<sup>98</sup> In other words it is a roofed piazza carried on square pillars. According to Parrot it must have been a place where merchants met and trade transactions were carried on.<sup>99</sup> This does not seem very different from the Egyptian public granaries where in the VI dynasty, pillared porticos fronting these establishments were built as a shelter for civil servants who recorded business deals.<sup>100</sup>

Though the use of columns as structural elements are evidenced at Byblos from the earliest period KI (see infra, section C for methods of construction), the concept of a columned portico fronting the facade of a temple does not seem to appear before KIV. If we look for the antecedents of this type of architecture in Mesopotamia, we find that after Uruk IVb, columns never really formed important structural elements in the architecture of that country. Aside from the impressive portico in the palace of Kish,<sup>101</sup> now dated to ED III,<sup>102</sup> we have two pairs of columns in the court of the EDII

98 A. Parrot, op.cit., p. 49, Pl. IX.

99 Idem., loc.cit.

100 A Badawy, Architecture, Vol. I, p. 58. Idem., Le Dessin Architectural, pp. 116-121. G. Je'quier, TPCP, p. 47, fig. 51; p. 74, fig. 83, and Pl. VII and X.

101 E. Mackay, A Sumerian Palace and a Cemetery at Kish, Part II, Pl. XXI, XXVI, 1-3 and XXVII 1.

102 P.R.S. Moorey, IRAQ XXXVIII (1966), p. 44. Idem., IRAQ XXXVI (1964), p. 91.

Inanna temple at Nippur,<sup>103</sup> a columned porch from the Al-'Ubaid<sup>104</sup> temple which, according to the reconstruction of the excavator, appears to be a simple awning. Finally, a lonely column from Sin VIII at Khafaji,<sup>105</sup> built flush with the facade of an inner room, is more related to the later Hilani style of the north Syrian palaces<sup>106</sup> and has no bearing whatsoever on the concept of a portico projecting from the facade.

In fact it is rather curious that columns were almost abandoned in the post-Uruk periods though they were extensively used in that period. It has been suggested<sup>107</sup> that because columns are alien elements to mud-brick construction, they were replaced by tectonic elements such as the arch, for example, which is more in keeping with mud-brick character. Though this sounds a convincing answer, it does not explain why, if columns were alien elements to mud-brick construction, they should be so extensively used in the first place.

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103 V.E. Crawford, in Archaeology 12 (1959) pp. 74-83. R.C. Haines, in ILN, Sep. 6 (1958) pp. 38ff., fig. 1. D.P. Hansen and G.F. Dales, in Archaeology 15 (1962) pp. 75-84.

104 C.L. Woolley, AntJ, vol. IV (1924) pp. 330-344, Pl. XLIV.

105 Pre-Sargonid Temples, Pl. 10.

106 C.L. Woolley, Alalakh, fig. 35: H. Frankfort, AAAO, pp. 139, 145-47.

107 A. Moortgat, AAM, p. 3. (Moortgat thinks that the pillar-like supports are a substitute of earlier stone pillars; this is a very unlikely solution since stone is not so abundant in either north or south Mesopotamia).

This leads us back to Heinrich<sup>108</sup> who believes that the Uruk columns are a transposition in mud-brick of an earlier half-timbered constructional technique. This type of architecture, Heinrich assumes, must have originated in a wooded country, probably northern Mesopotamia, which was not of a steppe character as today or, more probably, in the highlands of Anatolia, possibly Iran or Armenia.<sup>109</sup> This theory is of extreme interest since it shows how much architecture is influenced by its surroundings and the availability of constructional media.

In Egypt on the other hand, columns formed an important part in the architecture. But columned porticos are not reported prior to the Vth Dynasty.<sup>110</sup> However, those porticos form the centre-piece of the temple similar to the in-antis style; whereas at Mari and Byblos, the columns form a sort of peristyle because they are aligned along the walls of a courtyard (Pl. XXV 3, 4).

The third and most important temple of period KIV is the Baalat complex (Pl. XIII-XVI). Its most distinguishing features are the two facades, a southern one inherited from the Hypostyle temple discussed above, and an eastern one consisting of a double-gateway,

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108 Bauwerke in der Alt Sumerischen Bildkunst, pp. 48ff., 91-92., Abb. 49, 50.

109 Heinrich, loc.cit.

110 The earliest porticos are those of the valley temples of Sahure and Nyuserre of the Vth Dynasty. Cf. Borchard in note 15, supra.



was added during this period (Pl. XV, XVI). To the north, probably a series of apartments for the priests had been built. Adducing analogies to a building which does not show a pre-conceived planning but had grown through the ages by constant rebuilding and additions is very difficult. All that can be said is that this complex still retains an Egyptianised character. The two facades are common in the valley temples of Vth Dynasty kings,<sup>111</sup> especially the Sahure valley temple which has both an eastern and a southern facade.<sup>112</sup> Seeking analogies from Mesopotamia at this stage is out of the question since the differences are more than the similarities. In fact the terraced layout of the northern wing of this temple foreshadows the tell Atchana palace of Yarimlim.<sup>113</sup> The Units appended to the north lack the vital evidence of doorways. It can only be assumed that these rooms are contemporary since they are similar in style and technique of building. If these units were meant to be lodgings for the priests, then a good analogy can be found in Giza<sup>114</sup> where a row of apartments for priests had been laid out on a uniform plan, near the mastaba of Queen Khentkaues, mother<sup>115</sup> of king Neferirkare,

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111 Cf. Borchard, note 15. Also J. Vandier, Manuel II, 1, fig. 70, 83.

112 Ibid.

113 C.L. Woolley, cf. note 106.

114 S. Hassan, Excavations at Giza, Vol. IV, fig. 1, p. 35.

115 W.S. Smith, in CAH 2, 5 (1965) pp. 36-37.

third king of Dynasty V. The final element which can be discussed in connection with this complex is the cornice with the frieze of sacred uraei (Pl. IX 3, XV, XVI). That it is a direct borrowing from Egypt needs no proof. However, the interesting thing is that contrary to the Egyptian usage of having the cornice topped with a frieze of sacred uraei,<sup>116</sup> at Byblos the frieze had been carved in the cornice. In Egypt the evolution of the cornice can be traced from the time of Djoser (IIIrd Dynasty) to the end of the Old Kingdom by means of the curve at their end profile.<sup>117</sup> If this convention is applied to the Byblite frieze, then the latter should be earlier than the end of the VIth Dynasty since it does not show the deep curvature which is characteristic of the end of the Old Kingdom<sup>118</sup> and later. (cf. Pl. IX: 3 with IX: 1 which might be Roman).

b. Periods JI to JII: The stratigraphical record discussed above shows clearly a general destruction of the site at the end of period KIV. The aftermath of that destruction reveals a great pre-occupation in sacred architecture where new temples replaced the old ones, laid on a completely different plan. This radical change in fact amounts to something like a religious revolution. So far, with the exception of Megiddo,<sup>119</sup> Byblos is the only site in the Levant which yields an architectural activity at the end of

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116 J. Capart, L'Art Egyptien, p. 83.

117 A. Badawy, Le Dessin Architectural, pp. 31-35.

118 Idem., Architecture I, pp. 80-81.

119 K. Kenyon, in, EI, 5 (1958) pp. 51-60.

the third millennium.

The new temples evidenced at Byblos subsequent to its destruction are mainly of the megaron style with their cellae facing eastwards. These either assume the long room type or the squarish one, but they are unmistakably related as both types are represented in temple XIV of the Obelisk complex (Pl. III 1 and XXVIII 4). They are also preceded either by columns set in-antis (Pl. V) or fronted by a low porch wall (Pl. XXIII 3-4, XVII, XXIV 2, XXVI 10). That this type of architecture represents a new and intrusive element at Byblos has been stressed over and over again throughout this review (see supra, Summaries to Areas I - VII). It was also seen that this new culture is not the result of a peaceful cultural diffusion, but was forced on the people as is attested by the destruction levels at the end of period KIV (see Tables 1, 3-5, 6-7).

From whence did this new culture arrive? Is it a specific phenomenon at Byblos and its environs or is it a manifestation of a huge general pattern which swamped the Levant during this period? Here, in this context we can answer part of the question, whereas the second part will be supplied by a discussion of comparative pottery (see infra chap. IVB).

The megaron style represents the traditional form of architecture of Troy<sup>120</sup> being used extensively in domestic and public buildings (Pl. XXVI: 8). Architectural continuity of this style is best displayed

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120 C. Blegen et. al., Troy I, fig. 426 (settlement Ib); cf. note 10, in chap. III B.



in the sacred architecture of Beycesultan.<sup>121</sup> Temples arranged in pairs occur freely from the Early Bronze Age (Pl. XXVI 2)<sup>122</sup> through Middle<sup>123</sup> (Pl. XXVIII: 7) to the Late Bronze Ages. It should be noted here that the megaron style does not appear at Tarsus<sup>124</sup> and in central Anatolia (Kultepe) prior to EBIII.<sup>125</sup> The temples of Tepe Gawra<sup>126</sup> levels VIII and XI (Pl. XXVI 1, 3) share common characteristics with the megara in that they have porches and their entrances are set in the short side wall along the main axis of the buildings. However, their arrangement and detailing differ from the megara. Furthermore, they lack the continuity evidenced at Beycesultan. The twin sanctuary of the EDII temple at Nippur<sup>127</sup> shows two styles. One of these has the megaron straight axis approach and is divided by a partition wall, whereas the other reflects the age old Mesopotamian 'bent-axis' approach discussed above (see pp. 305 f). This sanctuary remains an isolated example in Mesopotamia

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121 This type was found at Beycesultan as early as the Late Chalcolithic, level XXIV and continued to be used till the Middle Bronze Age level, see J. Mellaart, in AST, 9 (1959) fig. 2, p. 41; see also notes 122, 123 below.

122 S. Lloyd and J. Mellaart, in AST, 8 (1958) fig. 3, pp. 104-105.

123 Ibid., fig. 6, pp. 96, 107-108.

124 H. Goldman, Tarsus II, plans 11, 12 (hall 35 and porch 30).

125 T. Ozguc, in Anatolia VII (1963) p. 14; S. Lloyd, Early Highland People of Anatolia, fig. 34, pp. 39-40.

126 Cf. footnote 48 and E.A. Speiser, Tepe-Gawra I, Pl. X (the western temple).

127 Cf. footnote 103.

at this age. Later, in the Larsa period, a temple consisting of a twin sanctuary was discovered at Tell Harmal.<sup>128</sup> Its ground plan is not different from the megara of Beycesultan but its detailing is Mesopotamian. Moreover, the reconstructed elevation of this temple shows open courtyards where only the broad shallow cellae are roofed.

It is probably due to the scarcity of systematic excavations in North Syria that our records of this period remain often so inconclusive. The excavations at tell Shuaira are of extreme importance in this respect because they fill in part of a missing link. The Akkadian-Ur III levels at the latter site are characterized by megaron style temples<sup>129</sup> (Anten according to the excavator) Pl. XXVI: 6. The Kleiner-Anten temple<sup>130</sup> (Pl. XXVI: 9) reveals a succession of three superimposed phases without a change in the plan. The earliest of these is dated to the Mesilim period<sup>131</sup> (c. 2600 BC the excavator's dates). Underlying the Anten temples, is the plan of a temple built on completely different lines. It consists of a complex of rooms and a courtyard.<sup>132</sup> The excavator compares it to the Abu temple

128 T. Baqir, in, SUMER, Vol. III, no. 1 (1947) Pl. 3, p. 24.

129 A. Moortgate, Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien (1960 a) pp. 9-13, 22, Abb. 9: Ibid., (1962) pp. 13, 20, plan IV.

130 Ibid., (1965) plan VI: (1967) Abb. 17, schicht, 1 - 3, pp. 8, 14.

131 Idem. تل حنورية في شمال سوريا 5th campaign (1964) AAAS, Vol. XVII (1967) pp. 102 (Arabic trans.)

132 A. Moortgat, op.cit., (1967) Abb., 17, schicht 4, plan IV.

at tell Asmar.<sup>133</sup> This stratigraphical fact shows that after all and despite the early dates<sup>134</sup> ascribed to the temple sequence by the excavator, the Anten or megaron style temple is not indigenous to Shuaira, but was probably diffused from its place of origin which, according to archaeological records, could perhaps be West Anatolia.

The difficulty in placing the Mari temples in a proper chronological order<sup>135</sup> is one of the problems of Near Eastern Archaeology.

However, a temple dedicated to Dagan<sup>136</sup> was discovered beneath the

133 Cf. note 131.

134 The excavator associated the three Anten temples with a complex of rooms that surround the earliest temple which was compared to the Abu at tell Asmar. These rooms are about 2.00-3.00m lower than the levels of the Anten temples. The reason for their association with the latter is based on stylistic similarities only. Fragments of similar alabaster statuettes were found in the rooms and the debris of the second and third temples. Because the Shuaira results are published in interim reports only, one should take the excavator's dates with great reservation.

135 A. Parrot seems to have two datums for his chronology to which he often refers. Thus most of the finds at Mari are according to the excavator, either Pre-Sargonique, a term which includes more than one period, perhaps EDII - III (see MAM III, pp. 10 and 36) or époque du palais, that is early second mill. with emphasis on the time of Zimrilim, a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon. (See ibid, p. 288 and MAM I, pp. 42-47, 180, 224). This constant reference to his two dates gives the impression of a gap of almost 400 years, which certainly is not the case since we know that during the Akkadian period, the city had an important temple to which the daughter of Naramsin dedicated some bronzes, see Syria XXXII (1955), pp. 3-4. Also thanks to Moortgat who made a study of the paintings of the so-called Zimrilim palace, we can now date a great part of that palace to Ur III (see AAM pp. 69-74.)

136 A. Parrot, in, SYRIA XXIX (1962) p. 172.



Lions Temple<sup>137</sup> which was also dedicated to the same god and considered by the excavator to have been contemporary with Zimrilim (Pl. XXVI: 4). The earlier temple could perhaps be dated within the Akkadian-Ur III horizon. It is reported that a bronze cache inscribed with the names of Naramsin's daughters<sup>138</sup> was found in the debris of this temple. On stylistic reasons, the Nin-Khursag<sup>139</sup> temple (Pl. XXVII: 4) should be contemporary with the earlier Dagan temple. Both temples differ from the Early Dynastic Ishtar temple (Pl. XXV 3) in that they have a deep broad cella with the entrance set in the short side wall along the main axis. The Nin-Khursag is preceded by a two columned porch which recalls the megara of Megiddo (Pl. XXVIII: 1 - 2). But instead of having the lateral side walls project to form antae, at Mari recessed pilasters project from the centre to form the entrance. Here the Mesopotamian traditional decorative style is maintained along with new adaptations from the Syro-Anatolian megaron style temples. It is interesting to note that a similar situation appears at Ur<sup>140</sup> during the Ur III period where a fusion of the two styles is evident (Pl. XXVII: 3). On present evidence, this fusion does not seem to appear in Mesopotamia prior to the Ur III period.<sup>141</sup> Since these

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137 Ibid., SYRIA XIX, 1938, fig. 13, p. 22.

138 A. Parrot, ILN, Aug. 6 (1955) pp. 227-229: SYRIA, XXXII (1955), pp. 195, 199 and Pl. XVII.

139 Ibid., SYRIA, XXI (1940) fig. 4, p. 6: Ibid., XXXII (1955), p. 208. For the date of this temple see E. Porada, in Chronologies, p. 129 (chart).

140 L. Woolley, in AntJ, X 4 (1930) Pl. XXXVIIa.

141 See supra, p. 307 David Oates, on Form and Function in Mesopotamian Temples, a forthcoming work.

features (i.e. broad cella with straight axis approach) appear in northern areas and at Mari in contexts earlier than Ur III,<sup>142</sup> one can tentatively suggest that probably it is through Mari that the Syro-Anatolian influences reached southern Mesopotamia. In a post Sargonid level at tell Jidle,<sup>143</sup> remains of a twin (?) sanctuary of probably the megaron style was discovered. The plan is inadequate and very little description in the text has been allotted to it.

At tell Mardikh,<sup>144</sup> one of the richest sites in Syria, a tripartite temple built on a longitudinal axis, was uncovered. This temple which is similar in plan to the Shuaira Anten temples, belongs to period III, dated by the excavator to the first half of the IIInd millennium BC (2000/1900 - 1700 BC). The excavator, however, noted that this temple is built on the same lines as an earlier temple of period II which is considered to be contemporary with the Akkad/Ur III Dynasties.<sup>145</sup>

Though occupation in other Syrian sites seems to be extensive on the

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- 142 See supra p.340 and footnotes 129, 130 on tell Shuaira temples. Also p.338 and footnotes 121 - 123 and 125 on Anatolian temples.
- 143 M. Mallowan, in, IRAQ, 8 (1938) fig. 5, p. 133.
- 144 P. Matthiae, in AAAS, vol. XVII (1967) Pl. III 1, IV 2, IV 5, pp. 33 - 36: ibid., vol. XVIII (1968) Pl. 1, pp. 12-16.
- 145 P. Matthiae, in Archaeology, vol. 24, 1 (Jan. 1971), pp. 55-57.



evidence of pottery,<sup>146</sup> architecturally the records are almost blank. Even in the 'Amuq, where one would have hoped to get some idea about the architecture of that area, apart from the piles and piles of sherd 'assemblages', evidence is totally lacking. From Hama there is evidence of domestic habitations,<sup>147</sup> but no temples are reported. It is further west and south that evidence of architecture from this period becomes available again. At Byblos we have the temples of JI/JII periods (Ill.2), while in Palestine, thanks to Dr. Kenyon's stratification<sup>148</sup> of the Megiddo remains, the megara of stratum XV are now dated to EB-MB period. This dating is of considerable importance and should be taken as a point d'appui for any future research on the architecture of this period.

G.E. Wright tries to assign these temples to the Early Bronze Age,<sup>149</sup> but his unconvincing arguments have been efficiently pointed out in a seminar<sup>150</sup> at Tübingen University. The astonishing thing is that in an attempt to show the continuity of temple architecture at Palestine, Wright concludes<sup>151</sup> that the megara of Megiddo are essentially the same style as the 'Ai temple. In fact it is sufficient to give the plate numbers of these temples where the plans

146 See E. Heinrich et al., in MDOG, 102 (1970), where two excellent maps (7-8) of pottery distribution and key sites of this period are published.

147 E. Fugmann, Hama, fig. 63ff. (plans of period J).

148 K. Kenyon, in EI, 5 (1958) pp. 51-60. The only earlier megaron so far known from Palestine comes from neolithic Jericho, Pl. XXXVI: 7

149 G.E. Wright, in AAT (1970), pp. 307-313.

150 T.L. Thompson, in ZDPV, 86 (1970) p. 38, footnote 5.

151 G.E. Wright, loc.cit.



speak for themselves revealing the impossibility of this equation (comp. Pl. XXVIII: 1-3 with AAT, p. 305, fig. 3).

Now what is the relationship and significance of this temple architecture within the historical and archaeological horizon of this period?

It was seen above that the megaron represents an indigenous west Anatolian cultural concept which extends as far back as the chalcolithic period. It was not introduced, however, to central Anatolia and Cilicia till EBIII, a period which is considered by Anatolian archaeologists to be contemporary with the Akkadian/Ur III Dynasties. In northern Syria, this architectural concept became very popular during the latter periods. A. Moortgat claims that this type of temple was found at tell-Shuairra as early as the Mesilim period (Early Dynastic II, c. 2600 BC, excavator's date). But despite this early appearance, we cannot say that this style is indigenous to tell-Shuairra for it was shown above that the megaron style temples or Anten, were preceded by a temple complex reflecting the Sumerian temple plans.

The excavator of Beycesultan attributes<sup>152</sup> the spread of the megaron and other west Anatolian cultural traits (the depas)<sup>153</sup> to refugees who fled their city, Troy, after its destruction at the end of settlement IIg. Archaeologists<sup>154</sup> who react strongly against the high dates

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152 J. Mellaart, in CAH 2, 8 (1962) p. 47.

153 Ibid pp 43 ff.

154 M. Mellink, in Chronologies, pp. 115-117. P. H. Ussler

allotted to Troy II regard these west Anatolian phenomena as cultural diffusions during the flourish of that city. In fact there could be other reasons for the spread of Trojan cultural elements and the most important of these which will be discussed here is trade. The deep thrusts of the Akkadians prompted partly by the need for all sorts of metals took them far north east and west. The considerable output of metal objects weapons and jewellery reflect the vast quantities of metals that Mesopotamia had to import often from distant regions. Metal and especially copper was exchanged for garments, wool, perfumed oil and leather.<sup>155</sup> This trade necessitated 'a system of open and well-guarded trade routes using different forms of transport by land, sea and river.'<sup>156</sup>

Inscriptions of Sargon tell us that after he had subdued the whole of Sumer, he turned his energy towards trade and foreign conquests, '... the ships of Meluhha, the ships of Magan, the ships of Tilmun he moored at the quay of Agade ...'.<sup>157</sup> Next we know of his march up the Euphrates and his conquests in Syria, 'At Tuttul(modern Hit, ninety miles west of Baghdad) he worshipped the god Dagan, who gave him from that time onwards the Upper Country, Mari, Iarmuti and Ibla (modern tell-Mardikh)<sup>158</sup>, as far as the forest of cedars and the

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155 A.L. Oppenheim, in JAOS, 74 (1954) p. 13.

156 K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery, p. 17.

157 C.J. Gadd, in CAH2, 17 (1966) pp. 7-8.

158 P. Matthiae, in a Lebanese daily, Al-Nahar 26/11 (1974) p. 7.

mountain of silver.'<sup>159</sup> Furthermore, it is recorded that '... in the eleventh year the land of the west to its limits his hand reached ... he set up his images in the west.'<sup>160</sup> But the most celebrated of his achievements which for long has been considered a mere remance, is his epic march to central Anatolia to rescue a group of merchants in Purushkhanda, a city which lies in the neighbourhood of Kayseri about 'four caravan stages to Kultepe'.<sup>161</sup> It is even believed that Sargon's conquests had reached ' ... lands beyond the upper sea ... Anaku and Kaptara ...', the latter is being identified as Crete.<sup>162</sup> Sargon's successors seem to have followed in his footsteps and in an inscription attributed to Naramsin,<sup>163</sup> the name of a city Ulisum is added to the record of conquered cities. This latter is identified as Ullaza of the 'el-Amarna letters, a city not far from Tyre in the south of Lebanon. Purushkhanda appears in a late inscription as forming part of Naramsin's Empire. This aggressive policy of expansion brought in its train exchange of ideas and great prosperity not only to Akkad but to Syrian and Anatolian cities as well. The archaeological evidence discussed in chap. IV corroborates these far flung relations. Mallowan<sup>164</sup> believes that ' ... an improved architecture was ... a by-product of the trade in metal and

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159 J. Bottero, in, CAH2, 55 (1968) p. 8.

160 C.J. Gadd, op.cit. pp. 10-11.

161 Ibid., p. 13.

162 Ibid., p. 15.

163 Ibid., p. 28.

164 M.E. Mallowan, in Iran III (1965) p. 2.



in wool'. These achievements were eclipsed at the end of the Dynasty when Akkadian monarchs had to fight against enemies from the east, north and west.<sup>165</sup> Finally the Akkadians succumbed to barbarians who ravaged their cities. After an interval of confusion, Mesopotamian supremacy and international relations were resumed. During the reign of Ur-Nammu, founder of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur,<sup>166</sup> temple towers were built at Ur, Eridu Uruk, Nippur and Larsa, etc. A resumption of overseas trade is also attributed to the efforts of the same monarch.<sup>167</sup> It is also believed that Ur III merchants traded with Kultepe,<sup>168</sup> evidence of which is inferred from the secondary use of Ur III seals found at Kultepe-Kanish, level II. Several important cities including Tuttul, Mari, Ibla and Byblos, are mentioned in the Ur III texts as being ruled by 'ensi or sakkanaku.<sup>169</sup> It is suggested that the title 'ensi was used interchangeably for independent rulers as well as those who were under the suzerainty of Ur III.<sup>170</sup> This Dynasty was finally overthrown by western Semites (Amorites), the same stock of people that Shar-kalli-sharri had to wrestle with in an earlier age.<sup>171</sup>

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- 165 C.J. Gadd, op.cit., pp. 40-47.
- 166 A. Moortgat, AAM, p. 55..
- 167 A.L. Oppenheim, in JAOS, p. 14.
- 168 H. Lewy, in CAH2 (1971), chap. XXIVb, section VIII, p. 711.
- 169 E. Solberger, in AFO 17 (1959-60) pp. 120ff.,  
I.J. Gelb, in JCS, XV (1961) p. 34.
- 170 W. Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles, pp. 45-46.
- 171 C.J. Gadd, op.cit., p. 41.

Surely these historical events could not have passed by without leaving great repercussions. Northern Syria in this respect was perhaps caught in the middle of several waves. These waves need not have happened concurrently but could have been successive or protracted waves of either displaced people or invaders who set in motion a trail of migrations. This perhaps apart from the trade relations discussed above, explains the diversity of the cultural traits of this period, best represented in the different pottery types of Tarsus, Byblos and Megiddo (see infra. chap. IV). It is interesting to note the position of Megiddo where an amalgamation of different cultural traits are represented.<sup>172</sup> In fact Dr. Kenyon<sup>173</sup> had already pointed to non-Semitic groups with northern connections who may have been responsible for the metallurgical progress in Syria and especially Byblos. But by far the most important cultural elements in this period are the megara of Syria, Byblos and Megiddo because they represent a continuity with subsequent

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172 On the one hand these traits are represented by the megara which are of northern origin, and by Syrian black polished goblets with incisions. On the other hand there are unmistakable EB-MB pottery related to Jericho wares and other sites. The pottery with full references will be discussed in chap. IV B infra.

173 K. Kenyon et al., in CAH, 29 (1965) p. 59. Paul Lapp advocates a theory of non-Semitic invaders, but his emphasis on an invasion of Palestine from the sea seems hard to accept; see his book, The Dhar Mirzbaneh Tombs, chap. VIII. However, in a later article, in NEATC (1970), p. 120, he modifies his position but does not exclude the possibility that some of these invaders reached Palestine by sea.



periods, since henceforth, this type of temple becomes almost universal in the Levant.<sup>174</sup> Now whether the bearers of the new religion as expressed in the megaron style temples were the Amorites, who most probably were in constant touch with north Syrian cities, or were Syrianized Anatolians, who first established their cult at tell Shuairra, and from there spread southwards to Byblos and Megiddo forming part of a great migration, will be fully assessed after a survey of the possible origins of the JI/JII Byblite pottery and its connections (Chap. IV B, infra).

Finally, it can be concluded that though Mesopotamian influence may have been manifest in the early periods at Byblos (plan of batiment XVIII, Pl. XXV:6), the architecture of that city took a different course (see later temples, Pls. III:2, XXII:1-2 and XII-XV).

Egyptian influence is greatly felt in the Baalat complex. Tectonic elements were freely borrowed and adapted to local taste (Pl. IX 2-3). However, the typical Byblite, or in a wider sense, Canaanite temple plan which shows continuity with later temples (cf. supra note 167), originated in periods JI/JII. These temples obviously are not the result of a fusion of Egypto-Mesopotamian architectural concepts; neither are they a local innovation. But they were introduced by invaders of whom the majority may have been western Semites.

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Examples are the Middle and Late Bronze Age temples at Alalakh, see Woolley, Alalakh, fig. 22, 34b, 34c, etc.: G.E. Wright, Schechem, fig. 41; G. Loud, Megiddo II, fig. 247; temples of period H at Byblos, Ill.2; A. Parrot, SYRIA XIX, 1938, fig. 10. Idem., MAM I, fig. 34, pp. 42-43. Also period III temple at tell Mardibh cf. footnote 145. for the B.M. temples at Ugarit, cf. C. Schaeffer Ugaritica II, fig. 2, p.4.



The following two sections on domestic architecture and the methods of construction will be briefly discussed since apart from very few exceptions, they hardly shed light on cultural links. Their intrinsic value lies in their sound architectural tradition which reveals the conservatism of the people. Religions can change as is manifested in the Byblite temples for example, but the habits and traditions of a country, despite invasions and foreign elements remain almost the same.

## B. DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Prior to any discussion on domestic architecture, it should be made clear that at Byblos, as presumably elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> earlier foundations often determined the shape and layout of subsequent buildings. This is mainly due to the exiguity of place. Thus continuity of plans is vividly portrayed in Areas where occupation seems to have been continuous as Area VII, for example (see Pl. XXIX, 5 of KI period; no. 6 which was superimposed on the latter was used during periods KII to KIV). This continuity, however, does not imply uniformity, i.e. it is not necessary that all contemporary houses should have similar plans and orientation. In fact this is rarely the case. Continuity in most cases, as was stated above, is restricted to individual buildings which follow the lines of earlier ones. It often happens that contiguous houses maintain their different plans for centuries without any alteration save, probably, in their spatial arrangement. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of tracing the development of houses from the simple to the more complex. Very often two or three small houses of an earlier period are merged to form one single building (cf. fig. 22, phases 3-4). The main difficulty in a discussion on domestic architecture at Byblos is that in most cases we find we are

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1 P. Delougaz, H. Hill and S. Lloyd, Private Houses and Graves in the Diyala Region, p.145.

dealing with ground plans only since doorways are rarely indicated on the plans.

However, it should be remembered that the remains of a whole city have been uncovered and thus the general pattern of houses and the character of the city tend to be revealing despite the failure of records.

1. Typology and Development.

For a better understanding of the various styles of domestic architecture, a general classification of ground plans, selecting typical examples is given below.

a. Periods KI to KIV.

Types of Period KI: the earliest house-type of this period is the agglomerate or clustered type where rooms are grouped together without evident planning. Rows of mural stone bases appear in this building (fig. 16a). Other houses often consist of small rooms built on the same axis. The longer rooms have a partition set at one third the length of these rooms (Pl. XXIX, 5). A more developed form of these rooms displays straight walls with straight corners (Pl. XXIX, 1; cf. Area I, fig. 1, phase 1). It will be seen that some of these houses later developed into complexes and were used alongside the simple ones which continued to exist in later periods (Pl. XXIX, 2 was used in period KIII, cf. fig. 24).

Types of Period KII: single oblong units with thick walls and a partition set in the middle of the hall, appear for the first time in this period. Pl. XXX, 1; cf. Area V, fig. 16, where blg no.



XXXIV, is superimposed on the remains of a clustered type building of early KI (fig. 16a) 7 To this single hall, very often a room (or two) and a small courtyard or porch are added (Pl. XXX, 2; cf. analysis of Area VII, figs. 22 and 25, phases 3 and 1).

Types of Periods KIII to KIV: the basis for the different types of domestic architecture was laid in periods KI to KII. The elaborate houses of periods KIII/KIV had in fact grown by a system of accretion whereby single Units of periods KI/KII are symmetrically arranged. This symmetry often gives the impression of a pre-planned layout but the fact of their unbonded walls betrays their additive scheme (Pl. XXIX 4, Pl. XXX 3-5). Few houses have their stone bases preserved but there is enough to indicate their disposition and function. According to extant remains, the small rooms usually have mural stone bases (the function of these bases will be discussed in section C, infra) whereas the larger rooms and big halls have both mural and axial stone bases (cf. Area III, fig. 12 and 12a). The arrangement of these houses can be classified as follows:

- a. two units of type KII built symmetrically on either side of a central long hall (Pl. XXX 4).
- b. three units of type KII disposed around the three sides of a courtyard (Pl. XXX 3).
- c. several units built adjacently on the same axis (Pl. XXX 5).
- d. several rooms built on the same axis show a development from type KI (Pl. XXIX, cf. no. 5 with more developed forms nos. 3, 4, 6 and 7). A much more elaborate version of the KI type is blg XIX which preceded the Champ des Offrandes temple. It has an L shaped layout with the addition of two courtyards (Pl. XXIX 4).

- e. an exclusive type of dwelling probably owned by the rulers of Byblos, should be mentioned here. Its plan is basically the same as blg XI (Pl. XXX 4) but apparently has larger dimensions (fig. 12a). The distinguishing feature of this house is a spacious audience hall which is usually appended to one of its sides (the function of these halls has been fully discussed in Summary Sequence to Area III, supra).

Finally it is evident from the various examples mentioned above that the oblong room was universal at Byblos during periods KI to KIV (see Pl. XXIX-XXX).

b. Periods JI/JII.

The destruction at the end of Byblos KIV (cf. Summaries I-VII) is also prominently marked in domestic architecture as well as temples (this is especially seen in Area I, fig. 5 and 6). The great activity displayed in sacred architecture subsequent to this destruction is unfortunately not corroborated in the early period in domestic buildings. Though evidence of settlement is certain and few buildings appear, these are very slight if compared to the compact settlements of Byblos KIII to KIV. But it is possible that there was a shift in residential areas at this stage. A big residence (Pl. XXXII) in the southern part of the mound<sup>2</sup> may, on stylistic grounds, be ascribed to JI/JII period. It could perhaps be the residence of the ruler of Byblos mentioned in an Ur III text.<sup>3</sup> However, the scattered examples on the mound are not sufficient enough to allow a classification of domestic architecture in these periods. Two types only can be discussed in relation to JI/JII periods:

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2, This house is not marked on the coloured plans, but is sketched in FB II, Pl. CCXII and carries no. 26.

3. E. Solihorger - AFO 19 (1959-60), 120ff.



Type a: is characterized by the use of spacious square rooms arranged symmetrically on the same axis. Rows of mural and axial stone bases appear in each room. Only one example of this type appears on the plans. It is represented by rooms A, B and C of blg XVI which seems to have some connection with the Obelisk complex; hence the care bestowed on its construction. These rooms do not communicate; each has its own separate entrance facing west. Thus they must have served as shops or priests' offices, (Pl. XXXI 4a). It is interesting to note the difference between these rooms and the series of apartments appended to the Baalat complex (Pl. XIII-XIV).

Another series of rooms D, E and F form a second row parallel to rooms A, B and C of the same blg, but these have a different shape and seem to have been added later. They will be discussed with type (b) since their shape is related to rooms of that type. The big residence mentioned above is probably contemporary with JI/JII periods. It can be classified with type (a), though not all its rooms are square, but their symmetrical arrangement and neat masonry (Pl. XXXIV 2) as well as the thickness and regularity of its walls relate it to this type rather than type (b). The disposition of its rooms (three on either side of a long central hall)<sup>4</sup> is similar to blg XVI, except that in the latter blg it is the back walls of rooms D, E and F which face rooms A, B and C. This disposition of rooms indicates that the central hall is in fact nothing but either a roofed corridor or an open air street.

Type b: is characterized by the use of big rectangular halls. A house from Area VI has two such halls, possibly a storage room and a porch (?) (Pl. XXXI<sup>5</sup> 3). Another house from the same period appears in Area I consisting of a single trapezoidal hall only with probably a porch (Pl. XXXI:2, cf. fig. 4). A third example would be rooms D, E and F of blg XVI referred to above (Pl. XXXI: 4b). Probably a third row of these rooms also existed as is indicated by the fragments of walls appended to rooms D and E.

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4. It is interesting to note that this type of building is still typical of Lebanese houses of today. The best example would be the modern house on the site of Byblos used by M. Dunand as a storehouse for his pottery and other small finds.
  5. This blg was not subject to analysis in chap. I B, but its stratigraphical relation to Units A and B of Area VI indicate that most probably it belongs to periods JI/JII.
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These two types do not conform to a chronological classification, i.e. JI or JII. It is possible that both existed at the same time. The changes in domestic architecture between periods K and J do not reflect a total break from earlier traditions. In fact the antecedents to JI/JII houses can be found in periods KIII/KIV. The big residence of period J for example (Pl. XXXII) reveals a similar architectural concept to blg XI of periods KIII/KIV (Pl. XXX 4), in that both dwellings consist of rooms arranged on either side of a long central hall. Also the square rooms A, B and C of blg XVI (Pl. XXXI: 4a) are essentially the same as rooms B and C of temple XIII period KIV (Pl. III 2).

Aside from the power of tradition and the conservatism of people, it is perhaps the geographical and climatic nature of a country that forces a uniform pattern on its inhabitants despite the varied ethnical origins of the people. This, as was seen above, does not apply to religions or religious architecture.

## 2. Cultural Links.

### a. Periods KI to KIV.

It was seen above that the development of domestic architecture at Byblos could be followed from the simple to the more complex all through periods KI to KIV.

In Palestine close analogies to the Byblite dwellings are found at 'Ai, phases II and III.<sup>6</sup> In phase II, room 195b has mural and axial

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6. J. Marquet-Krause, 'Ai, Pl. C.

stone bases. From phase III rooms 100-101 are similar to KI/KII units (cf. Pl. XXIX 1-2).

Domestic architecture reported from other sites in Palestine do not offer close analogies to the Byblite houses.

At Arad<sup>7</sup> the typical house plan consists of a rectangular unit with a subsidiary chamber serving as a kitchen.

Houses at Jericho<sup>8</sup> are reported to have a consistent north-south orientation, whereas at Byblos such regularity is not apparent. At tell-el Farah<sup>9</sup> big rectangular rooms seem to aggregate without any pre-planning or sense of symmetry.

In West Anatolia<sup>10</sup> the megaron unit is also used for dwellings, whereas in Cilicia<sup>11</sup> houses consisted of one or two rooms of the oblong type. One of these houses has a portico.

In central and southern Mesopotamia, the central courtyard seems to form the basic characteristic of houses.<sup>12</sup> This concept, however, is not shared by all archaeologists. H. Hill<sup>13</sup> argues that what is

7. Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, in Archaeology, 17 (1964) pp. 46-47.

8. K. Kenyon, Archaeology in the Holy Land, p. 108.

9. R. de Vaux, in RB, 55 (1948) Pl. IX-X.

10. C. Blegen, Troy I and II, fig. 417, 420, 426, 436, 451, 457-58 (Settlement I); 260, 289, 305 and 307 (Settlement II).

11. M. Mellink in H. Goldman, Tarsus II, pp. 12-32, plans 4-9.

12. H. Frankfort, AAAO, p. 55, fig. 21; A. Parrot, Tello, Vingt Campagnes de Fouilles, pp. 276-278, fig. 57; P. Delougaz, The Temple Oval at Khafajah, Pl. III. C.L. Woolley, in AntJ XI (1931) pp. 361-363, Pl. XLVII.

13. P. Delougaz, H. Hill and S. Lloyd, Private Houses and Graves in the Diyala Region, pp. 146-150.

considered a central courtyard, forms the basic room of the house.

In his classification of Mesopotamian houses he follows the evolution of this basic room from the 'single-flanked main room' to the 'double-flanked' and finally 'fully-flanked' where the basic room becomes the central unit in which daily activity takes place. Whatever the function of the central area is, Mesopotamian house plans do not bear any resemblance to Byblite houses. However, the technique of masonry of EDI Mesopotamia where bricks are laid in herring-bone pattern,<sup>14</sup> could be related to the same type of masonry which suddenly appears at the beginning of Byblos KI along with cylinder seals engraved with Mesopotamian motifs (Pl. XLV). On the other hand, it is in the north of Mesopotamia, at Tepe-Gawra<sup>15</sup> that similar house plans are found. Here a deep porch or liwan is flanked on its three sides by living chambers (cf. with houses XI and XLIV of Byblos, Pl. XXX: 3-4).

The offering stands from Assur<sup>16</sup> considered to represent house models<sup>17</sup> can perhaps be related to domestic architecture at Byblos in the technique of their masonry if we consider the upright ridges as wooden posts (see infra, section C). Whether the Byblite houses

14. H. Frankfort, AAAO, p. 20, note 9.

15. E.A. Speiser, Tepe-Gawra I, p. 36, Pl. IX-X.

16. W. Andrae, DAITA, Abb. 19.

17. E. Heinrich, Bauwerke in der Altsumerischen Bildkunst, pp. 67-69, Abb. 72-73.



had an upper storey as is shown in the Assur offering stands is not possible to know.

At tell Shuairra<sup>18</sup> and Mari<sup>19</sup> the early houses contemporary with the Dynastic age of Mesopotamia seem to consist of several rooms arranged round a central courtyard in the manner of Babylonian houses. One impressive stone building from tell Shuairra is very similar to JI/JII Byblite houses; it will be discussed below. Finally from Syria, a large rectangular hall is reported from Hama<sup>20</sup> level J8. It seems to be exclusive to that level, since similar structures do not appear in levels either pre- or post J8. This huge rectangle can be adduced as a good analogy to the public hall found at Byblos in Area II (cf. fig. 8a) and to the audience halls appended to big residences discussed in Summary Sequence to Area III. Evidence for domestic architecture in Egypt is very sparse from the Old Kingdom. In Djoser's complex a rectangular building identified as a house consists of four rooms of unequal size.<sup>21</sup> At Giza<sup>22</sup> the priests' apartments show a more or less labyrinth arrangement

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18. A. Moortgat, Tell Chuera (1960 b) p. 3, Pl. II.

19. A. Parrot, MAM I, p. 49, Pl. IX.

20. E. Fugmann, Hama, fig. 57.

21. J.P. Lauer, La Pyramide a Degres, fig. 207; J. Vandier, Manuel I 2 p. 601, fig. 600 right.

22. S. Hassan, Excavations at Giza, vol. IV, fig. 1, p. 35. Cf. supra, chap. III A, note 114 where these apartments were drawn as an analogy with the series of rooms appended to the north of the Baalat complex. It is the idea of having separate units

which is similar to certain Early Minoan houses in Crete,<sup>23</sup> but which differ considerably from the Byblite houses. In fact, it is not till the XIth dynasty<sup>24</sup> that we have sure evidence of what an ancient Egyptian house looked like. These are usually fronted by columned porches where courtyards stretch in front of them.

b. Periods JI/JII.

Subsequent to the destruction of Byblos KIV, a change in the ground plans of certain houses is evident (comp. Pl. XXIX-XXX with XXXI 1-3).

Contemporary architecture from Mesopotamia follows the same lines as those of earlier houses of the Early Dynastic period (cf. note 12 supra). Syrian architecture and especially the northern part

shows an ambivalence between the Mesopotamian and Syro-Anatolian<sup>25</sup> styles. Two important analogies from Syria can be adduced to type (a) of the Byblite houses. Future excavations may perhaps reveal that this type is indigenous to Syria and may represent a formal

built on a row and not the spatial arrangement of these units which is similar to the Byblos units of the Baalat complex.

23. K. Branigan, The Foundations of Palatial Crete, fig. 7.

24. F. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, Pl. XVI, XVII; H.E. Winlock, Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt, Pl. 9-11.

25. The Mari palace for example dated Ur III - Zimrilim, was built according to Mesopotamian architectural forms, i.e. square courtyards surrounded by a complex of rooms, see MAM II.

Also at Brak, Naram-Sin built a palace according to Babylonian style. At Alalakh on the other hand we have evidence for the use of porches and columns set in the hilani style, cf. C.L. Woolley, Alalakh, Pl. 35. H. Frankfort, AAAO, pp. 139, 145-147.

design as for example the megaron is to West Anatolia. At tell Shuaira,<sup>26</sup> a stone building, Steinbau I consisting of three squarish rooms built on the same axis contained libation vessels, a pedestal vase decorated with reliefs and incisions as well as a bronze vase. Adjacent to it is built a mudbrick square room containing six dismembered and partially cremated skeletons. The date of these constructions could be EDIIIB-Agade.<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to note that the three square rooms of blg XVI were built adjacent to the Obelisk complex and a square megaron shrine is appended to them (cf. Pl. II).

From tell Mardikh<sup>28</sup> the excavators reported the discovery of three spacious rooms built on the same axis; like rooms A, B, C of the Obelisk complex and Steinbau I of tell Shuaira, each of these rooms is endowed with a separate entrance. The excavators call it a palace and they surmise that probably other rooms related to this building may still be found. The date of this building is period III, contemporary with Hama H.

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26. A. Moortgat, Tell-Chuera (1965) plan II, Abb. 22-26; ibid., (1962) plan V.

27. M. Mallowan, in CAH 2, 62 (1968) pp. 64-65.  
It seems the practice of cremation burials was fully fledged in north Syria by Akkadian times. Probably it had an earlier history also. A reference to EBIII cremation burials at Gedikli-Huyuk is made below, see chap. IV A, note 77, p.389.

28. P. Matthiac, in AAAS, vol. XVIII (1968) pp. 7-19, Pl. III.



### C. METHODS OF CONSTRUCTION

That architecture, and especially domestic architecture is a product of its surroundings,<sup>1</sup> can perhaps be nowhere better proved than at Byblos. In a region where tall conifer and pine trees are abundant, their use was exploited to the maximum. Stone also was readily available but there is no evidence for the use of mud-bricks.<sup>2</sup> Since this region was often subject to seismic tremours, the early builders, probably by trial and error, devised a method of construction which shows great elasticity and resistance to earthquakes.

#### Foundations

Because of the terraced composition of the site, the depth of foundations varies greatly. This variation is seen in fig. 1 and 7c where walls of the same building have their bases at different levels. But the best example that can be cited is batiment II. The western walls of sanctuaries B<sup>"</sup> and E<sup>"</sup> are both laid on bedrock. The base of sanctuary B<sup>"</sup> wall is at level 25:00m., whereas the base of sanctuary E wall reaches bedrock only at level 23:20m. (see fig. 13, secs. AA and BB).

In the early periods, the depth of foundations hardly exceeds 0:20-0:30m. (cf. fig. 16a for the shallow foundations of KI walls). Also

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1 See supra p.335 reference to Heinrich's theory on the environmental effects on architecture. Also see S. Lloyd, in ASt, vol. V (1955) p.43.

2 M. Dunand, in BMB, vol. IV (1940) p.71; idem., FBI , p.363.

prior to periods KIII to KIV, foundations and elevations seem to have had the same thickness. Later, perhaps at the beginning of period KIII, the foundations become deep, and thicker than the elevation. They either project on both sides of the wall or on the inside only forming a ledge which comes level with the floor (see for example fig. 2-3, buildings IV and VI respectively). A similar constructional method is reported from Kish,<sup>3</sup> Beycesultan<sup>4</sup> and Kultepe.<sup>5</sup>

Beginning with period KIV, there is evidence for the use of thick retaining walls as part of a building's substructure (cf. Chapelle Orientale, phase 2, fig. 19; the Obelisk complex, phase 3, fig. 7). But it is only in Byblos JI/JII that thick cross walls or parallel walls are used in the foundations of important buildings. These in fact appear only in batiment II of the Baalat complex (Pl. XVII, fig. 13, phases 6-7). These walls do not only ensure better stability to the buildings but are necessary for raising the floor levels as well. It was seen above that the area of the Baalat complex has a marked southern tilt. Thus thick cross walls were a necessary structural device to raise the floor of the southern sanctuary E" to the same level as the northern sanctuary B". Similar cross walls are used in the Akkadian

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3 E. Mackay, A Sumerian Palace and the 'A' Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia, part II, p.110.

4 S. Lloyd/J. Mellaart, Beycesultan, vol. I, pp.62-63.

5 T. Ozguc, Kultepe-Kanish, p.72.

palace at Brak and Ashur<sup>6</sup> as well as at tell Asmar.<sup>7</sup>

### Masonry

At Byblos three main types of stone masonry are used:

- a. The earliest type is distinguished by the use of flat slabs of stones laid horizontally in a herring bone pattern (Pl. XXXIII:1). It is used only at the beginning of period KI. This masonry is not exclusive to Byblos at this early date, but was found at Troy I<sup>8</sup> and Thermi I.<sup>9</sup> It is surprising that in Mesopotamia, the herring bone style appears only in the Dynastic age. This is explained as the result of the use of plano-convex bricks which are not suitable for construction if arranged differently.<sup>10</sup>
- b. The traditional local type. This type incorporates several standards of the technique of masonry, but they are all grouped under this common heading because they are specifically Byblite in character and show a steady evolution from the use of rough unhewn blocks (Pl. XXI 1-2) to better trimmed blocks (Pl. XVIII:2), and finally to the use of almost ashlar like blocks (Pl. XXXIV 2, top right).
- c. This type consists of hammer dressed stones laid in imitation of brick-bonding. The masonry is certainly foreign to the

6 M. Mallowan, in IRAQ, vol. IX (1947) p.68.

7 H. Frankfort, OIP, XLIII, p.89.

8 C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, pp.46-47, Pl.11.

9 W. Lamb, Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos, p.7, Pl.II 1, 6.

10 H. Frankfort, AAAO, p.20, note 9. See chap. IIIB, p.359.



Byblite stone technique, In fact it is only used in the Hypostyle temple and is not reproduced elsewhere. (Pl. XVIII 1). Similar stone technique appears in the palace/citadel at 'Ai (cf. Chap III A, p.327, note 71).

### Elevation

The most revealing extant features which contribute to the knowledge and reconstruction of walls at Byblos are stone bases (Pl. XXXIV, 1-2; XXXII). These appear from the beginning of period KI set along the walls at short intervals (cf. fig. 16a). In certain rooms there is sometimes an additional central base as is seen in building XXIX, room C, of period KIII (fig. 15), in batiment XL of period KIV (Pl. XIII-XIV) and finally in the central cella of temple XIV (Pl. III 1). Big residences equipped with large rooms and spacious halls have three rows of stone bases in each room, two mural and one axial (cf. fig. 12, 12a and Pl. III 2 of period KIV; Pl. VI and XXXII of period J). The number of stone bases depends on the size of the room. These facts render Dunand's theory of a pattern sequence for stone bases which can be typical of succeeding periods obsolete.<sup>11</sup> There is also evidence for extra-mural stone bases set at the corner of houses and along the outside face of walls (cf. Pl. II, temple XIII; fig. 9, blg. XIX, where a stone base is placed at the foot of wall X2 which faces road D).

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<sup>11</sup> M. Dunand in RB, 57 (1950) pp.590ff.

Furthermore, it is reported that walls at Byblos were not built higher than 1:50m.<sup>12</sup> Usually traces of plaster appear on top of these walls while remains of timber are often found on the plaster. These data lead to the inference that the low stone walls at Byblos must have served as stylobates for a timber framework reinforced by vertical supports placed on mural and sometimes extra-mural stone bases. Transverse beams then joined the ends of the vertical supports. The space inside the timber-framework could have been filled with either plaster or rubble and clay. This framework may then be coated with horizontal wooden boards and the whole thing would be plastered over (cf. Pl. XXXV and XXXVI for possible types of wall construction at Byblos). In fact this type of wall construction is still practised today and is known as timber framing with weatherboarding. The main function of the mural posts is, therefore, to carry the walls upwards, which eventually carried the roofs, whereas the main function of the central or axial posts is to support the roof.

In period KIV, the walls are characterized by broad shallow recesses on the outside resulting in a projection inside (Pl. XXXIII 2). Probably these shallow recesses were meant to be covered since their poor masonry contrasts with the adjacent better trimmed stones. It may be suggested that squared or rectangular wooden beams were placed there as a reinforcement for the timber framework and as supports for the roof as well. A layer of mud or plaster was laid over them. It

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12 M. Dunand, in BMB, vol. IV (1940), p.71; idem, FBI, p.363; FBII 2, p.808.

is even possible to go further and suggest that the method of construction discussed above may have been used in many other sites, but little attention is given to this possibility. Even in a site like Beycesultan where an extensive treatment and reconstruction of walls are made, very little attention is accorded to the wooden posts found frequently lining the inner faces of walls. Lloyd refers to these wooden columns as 'vestigial remains of a traditionally all-wood building, surviving after the addition of an enclosing brick wall'.<sup>13</sup> This in fact sounds a very unsatisfactory explanation. In another context he refers to these wooden posts as 'a phenomenon which occurs frequently and without obvious explanation at Beycesultan'.<sup>14</sup> The same arrangement of wooden posts placed on mural stone bases occurs at Kultepe.<sup>15</sup> Much later at Gordion,<sup>16</sup> the same pattern is reproduced. One cannot help but surmise that in Anatolia as well as Byblos we are dealing with very similar architectural concepts devised perhaps independently to counteract the devastating effects of earth tremours. From Palestine there is also an indication that similar constructional methods may have been used. In the courtyard at the back of the 'Ai citadel,<sup>17</sup> stone bases line the foot of both walls. Now the width of this courtyard does not require additional devices apart from the

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13 S. Lloyd/Mellaart, Beycesultan I, p.32.

14 Ibid., vol. II, p.64.

15 T. Ozguc, Kultepe (1948) p.21, fig. 20 and p.32, fig. 41.

16 R. Young, AJA, 64 (1960) pp.238-239.

17 J.A. Callaway, BASOR, 178 (1965) p.32, fig. 12.



main walls so as to support the roof. Presumably the stone bases were destined to hold wooden posts which could have carried the walls upwards in the same fashion as the Byblite posts did. Another striking example is the temple of Megiddo from stratum XIX.<sup>18</sup> Reproductions of this temple show that it has two rows of stone bases, one mural (perhaps two) and the other axial. The thickness of the Megiddo wall certainly rules out the necessity for extra devices to help support the roof. It can only be inferred that the Megiddo wall as the Byblite walls was surmounted by a timber framework which required further reinforcement by vertical wooden posts. Thus is the explanation of the mural stone bases. It should be noted that this method of construction continued to be used with slight modifications from period KI to the end of JII and most probably till much later.

Scholars have frequently claimed that structural columns are typical of Aegean and Egyptian architecture, but they are a rarity in western Asia. This concept should be corrected now in view of the evidence from Byblos where wooden palaces with multiple rows of structural columns seem to have been the common and traditional method of construction. Perhaps the much later so-called temples or granaries of tell-en Nasbeh<sup>19</sup> are a transposition in stone of an age old technique using wooden posts as structural devices.

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18 G. Loud, Megiddo II, pp.61-64.

19 C.C. McCown, in BASOR, 98 (1945) pp. 2-15.

Chapter IVPottery Links and Chronological Correlations

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: a. to give the archaeological sequence of Byblos a chronological significance<sup>1</sup> by linking it to countries with fixed chronology such as Egypt or Mesopotamia:<sup>2</sup>

b. to investigate the possible origins of the cultural change at Byblos which culminated in periods JI and JII following the destruction of the KIV period architecture.

The paucity of Mesopotamian finds at Byblos in contrast to the numerous Egyptian objects found there necessitates a thorough investigation of the Egyptian evidence. Also because Byblos KI to KIV shows a similar cultural development to Early Bronze Age Palestine,<sup>3</sup> (see below under Palestinian Links), and because the

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1 Chapter III which is a study of comparative architecture helps us to understand the architectural and cultural links of Byblos, the possible origin and diffusion of the megaron style temples which suddenly appear at Byblos in periods JI/JII; but unfortunately, comparative architecture lacks the chronological precision pottery synchronizations could give. For this reason, chapter IV had to be written.

2 K. Kenyon, Archaeology in the Holy Land, pp.34 & 127; R. de Vaux, in CAH2, 46(1966) p.23; P. Lapp, in NEATC, p.123.

3 R. de Vaux, op.cit. pp.23-24; J.B. Hennessy, Foreign Relations, p.62.

pottery sequence of the latter is well established<sup>4</sup> now and its links with Egypt and Mesopotamia have been thoroughly investigated,<sup>5</sup> Palestinian evidence is also of vital importance for establishing the chronology of periods KI to KIV at Byblos.

But it will be seen that with the beginning of period J, the balance shifts from Egypt/Palestine to the Syro-Mesopotamian and Anatolian cultural spheres for comparative archaeology, because it is during that period that the culture of Byblos is strongly permeated with northern influences (see infra under section B). Trade relations with Egypt have become scarce<sup>6</sup> and very few common features appear now in these two, once closely linked countries (see infra p.377.).

- 4 K. Kenyon, Jericho I & II; R. de Vaux, in RB 54(1947) pp.403ff., 55(1948) pp.548ff., 58(1951) pp.394ff., 62(1955) pp.553ff., 64(1957) pp.557ff., 68(1961) pp.576ff., 69(1962) pp.212ff.; (J.L. Huot, RB, 74(1967) pp.517ff.; W.F. Albright, AASOR XII(1932) pp.1ff., XII(1933) pp.56ff., XVII(1938) pp.12ff.; G.E. Wright, PPEB; R.M. Engberg & Shipton, Notes: J. Marquet Krause, 'Ai; J.A. Callaway, 'Ai Tombs; R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery; J.B. Hennessy, Foreign Relations. etc...
5. J.B. Hennessy, ibid.; R. de Vaux, in CAH2, 46(1966) chap. VII; H. Kantor, in JNES I (1942) pp.174ff.; idem, in Chronologies, pp.6ff.; J. Kaplan, in IEJ IX(1959) pp.134-136; idem, in BASOR 159(1960) pp.32-36; R. Amiran, in IEJ II(1952) pp.88-103; idem, BASOR 179(1965) pp.30-33 & 195(1969) pp.5-53; S. Yeivin, in IEJ X(1960) pp.193ff.; idem, OA, XI, 2(1963) pp.205ff. etc...
- 6 No inscription of an Egyptian king between Phiops II and Sesostri I has been found at Byblos while names of all kings of Dynasties IV-VI were found inscribed on alabaster vessels in the precincts of the Baalat Gebal temple or in the big audience hall no. XXV, fig. 12. See also G. Posener in CAH2, 29(1965) pp.3-4; W.C. Hayes, in CAH2, 3(1964) p.5. Other scholars take a less pessimistic view regarding Egypt's foreign relations during the 1st Intermediate period, see for example W.A. Ward, EEMW, chapter 3.



On the other hand, the contemporary culture of Palestine excepting Megiddo, now differs distinctly from Byblos JI/JII.<sup>7</sup> These two periods are treated separately under Section B and an assessment of factors leading to the rupture of the cultural homogeneity of these areas is given.

In this chapter, pottery serves as the main vehicle for synchronization of cultural traits, because, in the absence of written records, pottery remains our best guide for chronological correlations.<sup>8</sup>

With the exception of a few examples<sup>9</sup> (see below), valuable Egyptian objects found at Byblos such as inscribed alabaster vases from Dynasties II and IV-VI, were found either on the surface or mixed with JI/JII and Middle Bronze Age pottery as well as other numerous artifacts,<sup>10</sup> (table 8). It is unfortunate therefore that the

7. R. Amiran (cf. Summary of Area IV, note 3) tried to link the EB-MB culture of Palestine with the post destruction or JI/JII Byblos by using ceramic examples from the jar tombs. These comparisons have been conclusively shown to be erroneous, see supra, Chap. II and Chap. IB, Summary to Area IV. It is gratifying to find that other archaeologists have already rejected this comparison, see K. Prag in Levant IV (1974) p. 76, note 26.
8. F. Petrie, Methods and Aims in Archaeology, (London 1904) p. 16; K. Kenyon Archaeology in the Holy Land, p. 32; G. Brunton, Qau & Badari I, p. 6.
9. See also, supra, chap. IB, Area III, analysis of fig. 12; Area IV, analysis of fig. 13.
10. See BE, 'depot de fondation' which contains a mixture of JI/JII and M.B. Age pottery. See also chap. II under period JI/JII.

chronological implications of most of these important objects have no significance in relation to the proposed archaeological scheme of this study, though they no doubt testify to the important and continuous relationship between Egypt and Byblos throughout the Old Kingdom.

Finally, it should be noted that the chronological equations formulated below are given in a broad and general sense and in no way could they be considered as absolute.<sup>11</sup> It has been repeated over and over again throughout this study that the nature of the published material from Byblos forbids definite conclusions from being made. Even though a meticulous reconstruction of the site has been carried out (see chap. IB) and the results obtained have shed a great deal of light on the Byblite sequence, the basic fact remains that any reconstruction based on schematic sections is bound to leave gaps of evidence. This is most poignantly true of Byblos because of the multiple shortcomings of the excavation and the publication methods which have been sufficiently exposed in the Introduction.

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11. In fact the chronology of the Levant depends heavily on that of Egypt, since none of these sites has so far yielded any written records in the Early Bronze Age. Thus Absolute Chronology in the strict sense is not applicable to the Levant; cf. supra footnote 2.

Section A - Periods KI to KIV.

Before proceeding with comparisons, it is worth noting that a study of pottery correlations between Egypt and the Levant is hampered with certain difficulties. Though it has been convincingly shown in several works<sup>12</sup> that EBI Palestine<sup>13</sup> is contemporary with the early part of the Ist Dynasty, this correlation gives rise to two important anomalies;

- a. very long narrow stump bases appear on jugs, considered to be foreign in the tombs of Djer<sup>14</sup> and Djet<sup>15</sup> (3rd & 4th kings of the Ist Dynasty), whereas these bases do not seem to appear in Byblos or Palestine prior to KII<sup>16</sup> or EBII<sup>17</sup> respectively.
- b. these early stump based vessels, though certainly bear similarities to Canaanite jug forms, have no exact parallels outside Egypt.<sup>18</sup>

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12 The most recent and comprehensive work is that of J.B. Hennessy, Foreign Relations; other works have been cited in note 5, supra.

13 Following Kenyon's chronological sequence, see Jericho I, Archaeology in the Holy Land, chap. V; see Hennessy, op.cit.; footnote 84 infra.

14 F. Petrie, Abydos I, pl. VI; 17.

15 W. Emery, Great Tombs II, fig. 98, types G9, G11, G12.

16 Pottery similarities synchronizes Byblos KI, KII with Palestine EBI, EBII respectively, see infra under Links with Palestine.

17 J.B. Hennessy, op.cit., p.50.

18 See above notes 14 and 15, Hennessy, loc.cit.



These observations may lead one to question the genuine nature of some of the so-called imported Levantine vessels. In fact Macramallah<sup>19</sup> was the first archaeologist to raise doubts concerning the authenticity of some of these vessels. On showing Dunand a few of the specimens he had found in his excavations at Saqqara, the latter concluded that the Byblite vessels have a much finer fabric than some of the Saqqara types.<sup>19</sup> It is regrettable that the spectographic analysis of the pottery carried out for Hennessy by the Research Laboratory for Ancient Art and Archaeology at Oxford,<sup>20</sup> did not include specimens from Saqqara or other parts of the Levant,<sup>21</sup> the results of which could have perhaps clarified these dilemmas. In the present state of our limited knowledge, it would not be amiss to suggest that a few of the jugs in Egypt which are considered to be foreign, could perhaps be local imitations of Canaanite jugs<sup>22</sup> but with the addition of a long stump base which is a common feature on Egyptian pottery from the beginning of the Ist Dynasty.<sup>23</sup> If stone imitations of Canaanite jugs were being

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19 Cimetiere, p.12.

20 Hennessy, op.cit., p.52 & note 65.

21 ibid., pp.54, 58 & note 67.

22 Macramallah (see note 19 supra) suggests the same idea.

23 F. Petrie, Corpus Pre-historic, pl. XLVII:71, XLVI:30-31 idem., Royal Tombs I, Pl. XLIII:86-102, 110, 130-131; W. Emery, op.cit., types D.

made during the Ist Dynasty<sup>24</sup> (as early as the reign of King Den), there is nothing to exclude the possibility of imitations in pottery as well. On the other hand, the relatively late appearance of the long narrow stump base on Canaanite jugs can be explained as the result of imitation by the Canaanite potter of local Egyptian styles.

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24 W. Emery, ibid., vol. I, fig. 77, type DD1, p. 144.

1. Links with Egypt.

Contrary to what has been claimed,<sup>25</sup> there is no evidence as yet of any direct link between Egypt and Byblos in pre-Dynastic times. A few of the objects found at Byblos and cited as examples from pre- or proto-Dynastic Egypt could in all probability belong to the 1st Intermediate period, others to the Old Kingdom while one or two objects could be contemporary with Khasekhemwy. H. Kantor, followed by Ward, compares a Byblos ivory amulet (BE, no. 170, fig. 37) to a 1st Dyn. ivory figurine.<sup>26</sup> But this comparison is not exact since these two objects differ in function and form. Identical ivory amulets to Byblos 170, were found in IXth Dyn. tombs at Sedment,<sup>27</sup> Matmar<sup>28</sup> and Qau.<sup>29</sup> The Byblite gold bead (BE, no. 256) which has been compared to 1st Dyn. beads<sup>30</sup> found in the tomb of king Djer, has close parallels in IXth Dyn. tombs at Matmar<sup>31</sup> and Mostagedda.<sup>32</sup> Besides, the context of the find-spots

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25. H. Kantor, in JNES I (1942) pp. 196 ff.; W.A. Ward, in JESHO VI (1963) p. 5.

26. H. Kantor and W. Ward, loc.cit.

27. F. Petrie and G. Brunton, Sedment I, Pl. XII: 3-4, p. 6.

28. G. Brunton, Matmar, Pl. XLI: 10, p. 47.

29. Idem. Qau & Badari I, tomb 7944, p. 42.

30. H. Kantor and W. Ward, loc.cit.

31. G. Brunton, Matmar, Pl. XI: 80, p. 6.

32. Idem, Mostagedda, Pl. LVIII: 35-43.



of the above objects favours a 1st Intermediate date rather than a 1st Dyn. date as has been suggested by the above mentioned scholars. Furthermore, Kantor,<sup>33</sup> dates two stone vases (BE, nos. 78, 80) to the pre-Dynastic era, but the parallels she draws for her dating are distantly related. Better parallels can be found in IIIrd Dyn. contexts<sup>34</sup> at Saqqara and elsewhere. Apart from the Khasekhemwy sherd which was found on the surface (table 8), two draughtsmen and an amulet/palette (BE, nos. 333-334, 358, fig. 48) have close parallels in the tomb of the latter.<sup>35</sup> Earlier draughtsmen have flattened or rounded tops.<sup>36</sup> However, the context of these finds implies that these objects must be either heirlooms inherited from earlier levels, or should be late imports. Moreover, none of the exclusively pre-KI Byblite ceramics (cf. chap. II, period L) has so far been observed in Egypt, in contrast to the close relations the latter had with Palestine.<sup>37</sup> The pot cited by

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33. H. Kantor, op.cit., pp. 210-211.

34. C.M. Firth and J.E. Quibell, The Step Pyramid, Pl. 99: 12; F. Petrie, Stone Vases, Pl. XV: 157, Pl. III: 64, p. 17.

35. F. Petrie, Royal Tombs II, Pl. XLV: 46, 48.

36. W. Emery, Great Tombs II, figs. 62-64, 66 & Pl. XXXIX: 371-373 (tomb of king Djer, no. 3504); F. Petrie Tarkhan I, Pl. XIX: 2, p. 17 (tomb of king Djer also).

37. For the close relations between Egypt and Palestine where almost all varieties of the foreign wares found in Egypt have counterparts or have originated in Palestine, see J.B. Hennessy, op.cit., chap. III; R. de Vaux, CAH2, 47 (1966) p. 39.

Kantor<sup>38</sup> does not furnish evidence for Egyptian contacts with Byblos in the pre-Dynastic age. The origin of this pot must surely be Palestine since as was stated above most of the proto-Urban types of the latter country are found in Egypt.

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38. H. Kantor, op.cit., pp. 197-198, note 129.

Period KI.

Similar pottery to that of period KI, type A2 (Pl. XLVII) has been found in 1st Dynasty tombs at Abydos,<sup>39</sup> Saqqara,<sup>40</sup> Lahun,<sup>41</sup> Tarkhan,<sup>42</sup> and Helwan.<sup>43</sup> The lack of contemporary Egyptian finds at Byblos<sup>44</sup> as well as the absence from Byblos of several of the major types of foreign pottery found in Egypt,<sup>45</sup> supports the argument that Egyptian trade with the Levant was mainly concentrated on Palestine<sup>46</sup> during that early period. However, the fact

39. F. Petrie, Abydos I, Pl. VIII: 4.

40. W. Emery, Great Tombs III, Pl. 75, type G2 (tomb of King Den, no. 3506): R. Macramallah, Cimetiere, Pl. XLVI, types s2, s3.

41. F. Petrie, Lahun II, Pl. LIII, nos. 97c-e, p. 22.

42. Idem., Tarkhan I, Pl. XIX:24, Pl. LVIII:99 (reign of King Zet).

43. Z. Saad, Helwan, Pl. XIbB, pp. 13-15.

44. See supra pp. 377 notes 25-34.

45. Among the foreign wares in Egypt which do not appear at Byblos but are found in Palestine are: painted vessels (see Petrie, Royal Tombs II, Pl. LIV; idem., Abydos I, Pl. VIII, lower part; R. Macramallah, Cimetiere, fig. 14, 15, 28:5; W. Emery, op.cit. I, fig. 68; H. Bonnet, Abu-Sir, Pl. 27. Painted wares never appear at Byblos before periods JI/JII, while they are quite common all through the Early Bronze Age at Palestine, (see R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery, p. 66; idem., Levant VI (1947) pp. 65-68; Hennessy, op.cit., Pl. XLIV, p. 51. The second type of foreign ware is the pillar-handled jar, cf. Hennessy, op.cit., Pl. XLV:1-3, p. 51. A third feature which is of Palestinian origin and is found in Egypt but not at Byblos is the ledge-handle, (see de Vaux, in CAH2, 47 (1966) p. 39; R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery, Pl. VIII, pp. 35-40.

46. J.B. Hennessy, op.cit., chap. IV.



that some of this pottery is similar in form and fabric to the Byblite wares is sufficient to date the KI period to the 1st Dyn. Also, it has been shown recently that this foreign ware was not encountered in Egypt prior to the reign of King Djer;<sup>47</sup> but only one vessel among the foreign wares of the latter tomb has a close parallel at Byblos. The rest are identical to Palestinian EBI ceramic styles (cf. Hennessy in note 46). In fact the closest vessels to the Byblite KI ceramics come from the tombs of Den at Saqqara, tomb of Djed at Tarkhan and from Lahun (notes 40-42). Moreover, evidence from Palestine (see below) shows that Byblos KI probably began sometime during the middle of EBI Palestine. Since it has been shown that the beginning of EBI Palestine coincides with the reign of Zer or slightly earlier (cf. Hennessy, ibid.), therefore Byblos KI should begin sometime during the reigns of Djed/Den.

#### Period KII.

Jug A2 of period KI continued to appear in the IInd,<sup>48</sup> IVth<sup>49</sup> and probably VIth Dynasties.<sup>50</sup> The duration of this type in Egypt is

47. Ibid., pp. 50, 52.

48. Z. Saad, Ceiling Stelae, Pl. XXXIV:3.

49. W. Smith and G. Reisner, HGN, fig. 95, G7000X.

50. Ibid., fig. 141: 700X, 679. This vessel is a stone imitation of the Canaanite jug, type A2.

synonymous with its continuous use at Byblos, i.e. all through periods KI to KIV, see supra chap. II. The closest parallel to a period KII type (jug A4, Pl. XLVIII) occurs in the tomb of Qaa,<sup>51</sup> last king of the 1st Dyn. This is an important piece of evidence because it fills in a minor gap in the comparative archaeology between the Levant and Egypt, since this type was not observed in Palestine prior to the EBIII Age.<sup>52</sup> Other related types to period KII jugs (type A3, Pl. XLVIII) occur in a tomb of Den<sup>53</sup> and other contemporary tombs at Saqqara.<sup>54</sup> These parallels, however, are not sufficiently close to suggest a chronological correlation. A further jug, type G3, from the former tomb, is similar to the Byblite jug type A6 (Pl. XLVIII). This latter was found in a KIII context<sup>55</sup> but it could have originated in an earlier period. Several tombs of the 1st and IIInd Dyn. containing Levantine pottery, types A2, A3 and A4 were discovered at Helwan.<sup>56</sup> But apart from the two examples quoted above (see notes 43, 48), the excavator does not attempt to relate the pottery to specific tombs.

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51. W. Emery, op.cit., Pl. 31, type G6 from tomb no. 3505.
52. J.B. Hennessy, op.cit., p. 50. The writer wrongly concludes that this type was not found in Syria and Lebanon.
53. W. Emery, op.cit., vol. III, Pl. 75, type G1, tomb no. 3506.
54. Cimetière, Pl. XLVI:SS.
55. Cf. chap. IB, analysis of fig. 23, phase 4.
56. Z. Saad, Helwan, Pl. LXIX, types s1, s2, s3, t1, t2, t3, w1, Pl. LXXII, types 19-21.

According to the above parallels, it is most probable that the beginning of Byblos KII coincides with the reign of king Qaa.

Period KIII.

Jugs of this period (esp. types A14, A9) have developed distinctive features which make them extremely useful for chronological correlations.

Jug, type A14 (Pl. XLIX and LXXIII) has parallels in a late IIIrd Dyn. tomb at Maidum.<sup>57</sup> Jugs of type A9 (Pl. XLIX) do not seem to have been observed in Egypt prior to the IVth Dyn. In fact evidence from Giza<sup>58</sup> shows that this type is almost exclusive to the latter Dyn. Jars with a pattern-combed face and two loop handles on either side were used at Byblos from periods KI to KIV (Pl. LII, types E2-E4), and with slight variations till the end of period JII (Pl. LIX, types E5, E6). A jar similar to type E4 was found in a IVth Dyn. context at el-Matmar.<sup>59</sup> At Giza<sup>60</sup> similar jars turned out in IVth, Vth and VIth Dyn. contexts. Egyptian influence is being strongly felt at Byblos during this period. It was seen above that batiment XVIII of period KII which copies a Mesopotamian

57. F. Petrie, Medum and Memphis III, Pl. XXIV:4.

58. W.S. Smith and G. Reisner, HGN, fig. 95, pp. 64, 74.

59. G. Brunton, Matmar, Pl. XXXVII:2, p. 45.

60. W.S. Smith, HGN, fig. 96, 97.



architectural concept was destroyed and a new temple reflecting Egyptian styles of masonry and layout was built on its ruins,<sup>61</sup> (cf. Pl. XXV:5-6 with Pl. XII, XVIII 1). The earliest Egyptian objects found at Byblos probably date from the reign of Khasekhemwy.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, Byblos has not yielded a single name of an Egyptian IIIrd Dyn. monarch. P. Montet<sup>63</sup> tentatively dates fragments 5136, 5345, 5366 of an alabaster bowl bearing the name of Nefer-Sechem-Ra, an Egyptian official, to the IIIrd Dyn. W. Ward<sup>64</sup> suggests a IVth Dyn. date. Two stone vases (nos. 78 and 80) could on stylistic grounds be dated to the IIIrd Dyn. (cf. supra note 34). Other evidence of trade connections between Byblos and Egypt during the IIIrd Dyn. comes from the pyramid of Djoser.<sup>65</sup> A wooden coffin made up of four different kinds of wood, one of which is cedar, indicates that the source of this wood should be sought in Byblos.

Ceramic correlations link Byblos KIII with end of Dyn. III to end of Dyn. IV. But, because evidence of trade connections between Byblos and Egypt comes from the pyramid of Djoser, the beginning of Byblos KIII can be considered to fall during the reign of the latter king.

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61. See supra chap. IB, Area IV, analysis of fig. 13 and Summary of that Area.

62. See supra, p. 378 note 35.

63. P. Montet, in Kemi, 16 (1962) p. 87.

64. W.A. Ward, in BMB, XVII (1964) pp. 37-46.

65. Idem., in JESHO VI (1963) p. 21, note 2.

Period KIV.

The Baalat-Gebal temple of this period has been rebuilt along similar lines to king Sahure's valley temple (see supra, chap. IIIA, note 111).

A group of pottery (nos. 4101-4109, see fig. 13) including types A2, A10, A12 and A15 (Pl. XLIX) was found in the Baalat-Gebal temple of period KIV. The appearance of two alabaster fragments inscribed with the names of Nyuserre and Unas of Dyn. V, alongside this group, helps to give this period a chronological significance which is further corroborated by a wall drawing from the mortuary temple of King Sahure (last king of Dyn. V) at Abusir-el-Malaq.<sup>66</sup> In this drawing, an Asiatic bear and Canaanite jugs which are very similar to types A8, A10 of period KIV (Pl. XLIX) are clearly depicted.

Two combed jars type E4 (Pl. LII) occur in the tombs of two officials of Phiops II<sup>67</sup> (last king of Dyn. VI). But the jar from the tomb of Ada<sup>68</sup> has stabbed incisions at the base of the neck, a feature which does not appear at Byblos during this period. It is more likely that the origin of this jar is Palestine, since a similar jar was found in tomb A at Jericho.<sup>69</sup>

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66. L. Borchardt, Das grabdenkmal des konigs S'ahu-re, vol. II, Die wandbilder, Pl. 3.

67. G. Jequier, TPCP, fig. 10, p. 14, fig. 25, p. 26.

68. Ibid., fig. 10.

69. J. Garstang, in LAAA, XIX, Pl. VI:15.

Also stone imitations of the Canaanite combed jars were found in the vestibule of the tomb of Phiops II.<sup>70</sup>

Numerous Vth to VIth Dyn. stone objects were found at Byblos.<sup>71</sup>

Fischer<sup>72</sup> believes that at least the VIth Dyn. vessels were 'inscribed expressly for export to Byblos'.

Architectural and ceramic stylistic similarities as well as stratigraphic considerations at Byblos correlate period KIV with the Vth and VIth Egyptian Dynasties.

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70. G. Jequier, Le Tombeau Royal, fig. 6, pp. 6-8.

71. See BE, nos. 45-124. See also table 8 for a list of Pharoah's names which occur at Byblos.

72. Dendera, p. 39.



2 Links with Palestine

It has been suggested that Byblos shows a similar cultural development to Palestine in the Early Bronze Age (see supra, note 3). Material culture from Byblos corroborates this statement (see below under ceramic parallels); but one should not ignore the differences which exist as well. In this context, it is worthwhile to note the following;

Regional peculiarities were easily formed and persisted for very long periods even in areas where there is a geographical unity such as Byblos and Palestine. To illustrate this point, we present below a list of Palestinian pottery types which persisted for long periods but which is totally absent from the KI to KIV Byblite ceramic repertoire, as well as popular pottery of Byblos KI to KIV which does not seem to appear in Palestine during the EB Age.

- A Palestinian EB types which are absent from Byblos:<sup>73</sup>
- 1 ledge handles
  - 2 spouted vessels
  - 3 all forms of painted decoration
  - 4 pillar-handled jars
  - 5 Khirbet-Kerak ware
  - 6 Kenyon's carinate bowls, type A. The absence of this type of bowl from the ceramics of Byblos KI to KIV is impressive. Varied types of this bowl are fairly common during the L

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73. For references to the types listed below, see supra, note 4, where general and specific works on Palestinian pottery are cited.

period (see Pl.XXXVIII:5639, 5751, Pl.XLI:5649) and their absence from the succeeding periods is consistent with the suggestion made in this study concerning the radical change and the possible chronological gap which seems to have existed between the L period and the succeeding KI culture (see supra, chap. II),

B Byblite pottery which is absent from Palestine

- 1 simple bowls with outrolled rims (Pl.L: Pl. LI: types B1-B2). This new type of bowl which suddenly appears at the beginning of period KI seems to have replaced the carinate bowl of period L,
- 2 spherical pots with a small circular handle from rim to shoulder, (Pl.L: types D1-D2; Pl.LI: type D2).
- 3 four spouted lamp, (see fig. 14:5411). This type of lamp became characteristic of the EB-MB period at Palestine. A crudely made and slightly related lamp is found at Jericho<sup>74</sup> and 'Ai<sup>75</sup> at the end of the Early Bronze Age.

It is most probable that the origin of the first two types should be sought in northern Syria. Bowls with outrolled rims identical to the Byblite specimens are reported from the 'Amuq, phases F and G.<sup>76</sup> Identical pots to types D were found at Gedikli Huyuk in a cremation cemetery which is dated by the excavators to the end of the third

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74 K. Kenyon, Jericho I, fig. 67:14, tomb A114B.

75 J. Marquet-Krause, 'Ai, sanctuary A, Pl.LII:1534.

76 R.J. Braidwood, 'Amuq, fig. 179:6, p.238 (the chaff-faced red-slipped ware), fig. 205:7, p.267 (the plain simple ware).

mill. B.C.,<sup>77</sup> but the excavators are hoping to find similar pots in earlier contexts as their excavation proceeds. The excavators of Gedikli also quote parallels to this pot from 'Amuq F-J,<sup>78</sup> but the examples they cite are not close to the Byblite type. Better parallels are found in Tarsus EBII,<sup>79</sup> and Alishar copper age.<sup>80</sup> As for the spouted lamp, no examples have turned up in Syria earlier than Hama J8.<sup>80a</sup> This lamp therefore could be considered a Byblite invention.

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77. B. Alkim, in Belleten, (1966), fig. 29, pp. 43-44.

78. Ibid., p. 44, note 47.

79. H. Goldman, Tarsus II, fig. 251:302.

80. H.H. von der Osten, Alishar, figs. 170, 171, p. 170.

80a. E. Fugmann, Hama, fig. 58: 3H372.



Ceramic Parallels - Period KI.

The results obtained from the stratigraphical reconstruction of Byblos and from the study of the related ceramics, allows us to formulate the following synchronizations.

The KI period culture appears fully fledged at Byblos after a complete break with period L.<sup>81</sup> A transitional period as envisaged by Dunand<sup>82</sup> where, like Palestine,<sup>83</sup> both the ceramics of this period and of the preceding one were in common use, does not, on present evidence, exist at Byblos (see chap. II). In fact evidence from the tombs suggests that the L period culture may have overlapped with EBI Palestine.<sup>84</sup> This is seen from the frequent use of a red slip especially on wares from cave 99, the appearance of carinate bowls and pots with diagonal handles similar to those from Farah and Megiddo (see chap. II, esp. note 19). These ceramic features, however, cannot represent a transitional phase because

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81. For the special characteristics of this period see supra chap. II.

82. M. Dunand, in RB, 57 (1950) pp. 583, 590-593.

83. J.B. Hennessy, Foreign Relations, pp. 18-20, 63; R. de Vaux, in CAH2, 46 (1966) p. 5, note 3.

84. In this study we follow Kenyon's nomenclature and her definition of what constitutes the EBI culture and the date of its inception at Palestine. The new profile of this culture at the latter country can be summarized in the following:

- a. appearance of fortified cities and the concept of city states.
- b. the introduction of new pottery forms made with new clays and new surface decoration.
- c. the beginning of this period is contemporary with the early part of the 1st Egyptian Dyn. See K. Kenyon Archaeology in the Holy Land, chap. 5 *idem.*, Jericho I, chap. 3. For

they are not predecessors to the ensuing K cultures. The carinate bowl as well as the pot with diagonal handles ceased to be produced after period L. Nevertheless, the above features are later than the Jericho proto-Urban tombs<sup>85</sup>, indicating that the L period culture has lingered on and may have gone a step further in its development prior to its abrupt ending. We propose therefore to place Byblos KI towards the middle of Palestine EBI. This perhaps explains the appearance of the fully developed KI culture at Byblos which offers striking parallels to Palestine EBI/EBII. However, unlike Palestine, Byblos was still an unwalled settlement at this stage (see note 84). Nevertheless, it participated in the same technological revolution which materialized in the production of the

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references see note 13 supra. See also R. de Vaux, who holds similar ideas in CAH2, 46 (1966) p. 5 ff. Albright considers the change between the Chalcolithic and EBI culture, "a matter of terminology, not a far-reaching change of culture" Chronologies, pp. 49 ff. Other scholars prefer to lump the post-Ghassulian, pre-Ist Dyn. cultures into one long period ignoring the onslaught of new ideas and new technology at the beginning of the EBI period. See R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery, chap 4; G.E. Wright, in BANE (1961) pp. 81-83; P. Lapp, in NEATC, pp. 103-104.

85. K. Kenyon, Jericho I, pp. 5-6.

standard EBI wares, i.e. the wheel-made, red-burnished vessels with cross-hatched decoration.<sup>86</sup>

Specific examples from this period are very few in number as there is evidence that the KI settlement was limited in time and space (see chap. II).

Jugs of this period, types A1 and A2 (Pl. XLVII) have good parallels in EBI contexts at Palestine: Jericho tomb A108,<sup>87</sup> 'Ai tomb C<sup>88</sup> and tell-en-Nasbeh<sup>89</sup> EBI. Also the use of cylinder seals, carved with various motifs and rolled on to the shoulders of jars, is characteristic of this period<sup>90</sup> (Pl. XLV: 15715). Very similar examples can be cited from EBI Palestine.<sup>91</sup>

86. For the description of this new pottery, see K. Kenyon, op.cit. R. de Vaux, op.cit. pp. 5-8; Hennessy, op.cit., pp. 10-12, 18-20; R.L. Huot, in RB, 74 (1967) pp. 518 ff.; chap. II under KI in this study.

87. K. Kenyon, Jericho I, fig. 23: 8-10.

88. J. Callaway, 'Ai Tombs, Pl. XVII: 556, tomb C.

89. J.B. Hennessy, Foreign Relations, Pl. XLVIII:7.

90. For the technique of carving these seals which are all characterized by flat planes, see chap. IIIA, note 41.

91. For specific examples and references, see Hennessy, op.cit. pp. 64-66.



Period KII.

Jugs with short stump bases of period KII (Pl. XLVIII, type A3), are comparable to EBII vessels from Jericho,<sup>92</sup> Far'ah,<sup>93</sup> 'Ai,<sup>94</sup> Megiddo<sup>95</sup> and Kinnereth.<sup>96</sup>

Combed-ware jars have an early history in Palestine where they occur during the Proto-Urban period but they become particularly common in the EBIII Age.<sup>97</sup> At Byblos, combed jars were first encountered in a KI context<sup>98</sup> and continued to be used till the end of period JII (Pls. LII and LIX).

A similar jug to type A4 (Pl. XLVIII) of period KII, occurs in Megiddo<sup>99</sup> XVII, a stratum which contains a mixture of more than one period.<sup>100</sup> Some archaeologists, however, place Megiddo XVII in EBII,<sup>101</sup> while others assign this stratum to EBIII.<sup>102</sup>

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92. K. Kenyon, op.cit., fig. 25:11, p. 88 (tomb A 127).
93. R.L. Huot, in RB, 74 (1967) fig. 3: type IIIa, p. 525.
94. J. Gallaway, 'Ai Tombs, Pl. XI: 956, p. 46, Pl. XVII: 683, pp. 45, 50.
95. Engberg & Shipton, Notes, chart, column 8, no. c.
96. R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery, Pl. 17: 1.
97. Hennessy, op.cit., Pl. XXV: 15-17, pp. 31-32, Pl. LX: p. 72.
98. See supra, chap. IB, Area I, fig. 5, phase 2 and chap. II under KI.
99. G. Loud, Megiddo II, Pl. 5:1. Similar types also at Jericho, tomb F4, see K. Kenyon, Jericho I, fig. 45, p. 135.
100. K. Kenyon, in EI, 5 (1958) p. 55.
101. R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery, chap. V, Pl. 17:13; G.E. Wright, in BANE charts 1. 2. 3. pp. 80, 83, 85.
102. J.B. Hennessy, op.cit., chart 1, p. 21; H. de Contenson, in

Periods KIII/KIV.

The combination of wide flaring necks and long narrow stump bases (type A14, Pl. XLIX, LXXIII) is a characteristic feature on certain jugs of Byblos KIII. More exaggerated forms were produced during period KIV (Pl. XLIX and LXXIV: type A15). Similar examples occur in EBIII contexts at Jericho,<sup>103</sup> Lachish<sup>104</sup> and Bethshan. XI.<sup>105</sup>

The use of the moulded cord as a decorative element on the base of jugs' necks appears during Byblos KIII (type A9, Pls. XLVII, XLIX). In Palestine, this feature occurs at Far'ah, level 5<sup>106</sup> which represents the very end of EBII and might have overlapped with the beginning of EBIII. It also appears at Jericho, tomb A,<sup>107</sup> and at 'Ai.<sup>108</sup> The early occurrence of this decorative feature on a jug from Megiddo<sup>109</sup> is suspect as the stratigraphy of that site is far from being reliable.

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RB 68 (1961) Pl. 30, opp. p. 552.

103. K. Kenyon, Jericho I, fig. 45: 11-12 (tomb F4); fig. 37:5 (tomb D 12); J. Garstang, in LAAA, XIX (1932) Pl. V:9.
104. O. Tufnell, Lachish IV, Pl. 60:25.
105. G.M. Fitzgerald, in MJ, XXIV:1 (1935) Pl. VII: 15.
106. R.L. Huot, op.cit., fig. 3, types Ia1, Ia2, pp. 536, 542.
107. J. Garstang, op.cit., Pl. V: 6.
108. J. Marquet-Krause, 'Ai, Pl. LXXV:1451.
109. R. Engberg & C. Shipton, Notes, chart, type 8c.

A similar example to bowl B20 (Pl. L) has been reported from tomb D12 at Jericho.<sup>110</sup>

The broad platter<sup>111</sup> and the small carinate bowl<sup>112</sup> which are characteristic features of EBII Palestine occur in a deposit ascribed to Byblos KIII (Pl. L: types C1, C2, B5; cf. fig. 14 and Summary to Area IV). Present evidence does not indicate if these types had an earlier history on the site. Combed jars which appear in KI Byblos continue to be produced but their forms have become more cylindrical (Pl. LII: types E3, E4, comp. with type E2.). The floruit of similar combed jars at Palestine is the EBIII period.<sup>113</sup> The almost identical techniques of masonry which appear in both the Hypostyle temple of period KIII and the 'Ai citadel of EBIII has been discussed in chap. IIIA. It is important to remember that this new technological feature appears in both cities after a destruction level. This architectural comparison suggests that 'Ai EBIII is contemporary to Byblos KIII. The above brief discussion on ceramic links shows that most types of Byblos KIII appear either at the beginning of Palestine EBIII or during EBII. Following are the C14 dates for the destruction level of EBII 'Ai:<sup>114</sup>

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110. K. Kenyon, op.cit., fig. 38: 21.

111. G.E. Wright, PPEB, pp. 69-70, forms BIIIa, BIIIb.

112. J.B. Hennessy, op.cit., p. 20.

113. Ibid., in note 97 supra.

114. S. Velastro, St. et al., in Radiocarbon, vol. 14, no. 2 (1972) pp. 482 - 484.



Tx-1026	2970 BC $\pm$ 90
Tx-1028	2850 BC $\pm$ 90
Tx-1030	2750 BC $\pm$ 50
Tx-1031	2780 BC $\pm$ 90
Tx-1035	2860 BC $\pm$ 90

Only sample Tx-1029 which contains charred bones from the destruction debris of an EBII building disturbed by a foundation trench for the construction of an EBIIIA fortification tower, a date of 2620 BC.

$\pm$  120 is given. Because of the higher probability range of the latter date, and because the rest of the samples give a + 2700 BC., even after subtracting the probability range, for the end of EBII, sample Tx-1029 can be considered as similar to the others. These dates, however, appear too high for the beginning of Byblos KIII.

It was seen above that ceramic and trade links with Egypt correlate Byblos KIII with the IIIrd Dyn. more specifically perhaps to the reign of king Djoser<sup>115</sup> which according to CAH2 would be  $\pm$  2660 BC.

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115. W.S. Smith, in CAH2, 5 (1965), chronological chart.

Table 9.

EGYPT	BYBLOS	PALESTINE
Ist Dynasty Narmer Aha Djer Diet Den Azib Semerbhet Qaa		EBI
	KI	EBII
IIInd Dynasty	KII	
		EBIIIA
IIIrd Dynasty IVth Dynasty	KIII	
		EBIIIB
Vth Dynasty VIth Dynasty	KIV	

### Section B - Periods JI/JII.

With the beginning of period J, new architectural concepts as well as new ceramic styles appeared at Byblos. It was suggested above that this dramatic change and the sudden eruption of new ideas as well as the break-up of relations with Egypt, must have happened some time towards the end of the longreign of Phriops II (i.e. c 2200 BC, see supra table 9 ). What were the factors behind this cultural change? Natural disasters, ethnic intrusions; or could they perhaps be the result of economic necessities? To be able to answer these questions, it is essential to place Byblos in the archaeological perspective of that age. In chap. IIIA, the architectural links of Byblos JI/JII have been discussed. Literary sources from Akkadian/Ur III periods testifying to extensive trade relations and mentioning Byblos among other important cities as seats of governors or 'ensis, have been cited.

In this chap. a summary review of the chronological background of key sites in Anatolia and Syria during the Akkad/Ur III periods will be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of ceramic links between Byblos and the above mentioned countries.

### Anatolia.

Excavations at Kultepe have revealed an uninterrupted development of an indigenous culture which spanned periods EBI to the end of

EBIII.<sup>1</sup> Three building levels A, B, C, are assigned to Kultepe EBIII.<sup>2</sup>

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1. N. Ozguc in Belleten, 21 (1957) pp. 77-80.

2. T. Ozguc in Anatolia VII (1963) p. 12.



These levels have shed light on extensive trade relations, evidence of which appears in the various imported wares from Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia and Troy.<sup>3</sup> Level IIIC, the earliest, contained a tomb in which imported Sargonid jewellery (a pendant and lunate earrings) were found.<sup>4</sup> Level IIIB is characterised by the adoption of a west Anatolian architectural style, the megaron,<sup>5</sup> the use of the wheel and the appearance of the depas and wheel-made plates of Tarsus EBIII and Troy II types.<sup>6</sup> Along with these, Syrian jars as well as corrugated goblets were imported. Syrian grey burnished bottles appear only in the last level IIIA.<sup>7</sup> This level ended in a violent destruction. The two succeeding levels, karums IV-III were built on virgin soil on the karum area.<sup>8</sup> Karum II which follows karum III has ceramic links with Byblos Royal Tombs I-III<sup>9</sup> and with Middle Minoan I.<sup>10</sup>

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3. Ibid., pp. 11-13.

4. Ibid., Pl. VIII-2, p. 13, note 47.

5. Ibid., fig. 1, Pls. IV: 1, V:1, p. 13.

6. M. Mellink, in AJA, 67 (1963) p. 175.

7. Idem., in Chronologies, p. 113.

8. T. Ozguc, Kultepe-Kanish.

9. Comp. T. Ozguc, Kultepe - 1948, Pl. XXXVIII: 158a, Kultepe - 1949, 158ff. with BE, Pl. CXVI: 800 and Pl. LXXVI: 1 in this study.

10. Comp. T. Ozguc, Kultepe - 1948, Pl. XLVIII: 224 with A. Evans, PMI, fig. 130a, c.

The rich discoveries in the Royal tombs of Alaca-Huyuk,<sup>11</sup> Horoztepe<sup>12</sup> and Mahmatlar<sup>13</sup> is indicative of the wealth of this country in metallurgy. In fact references were found in the Kultepe texts describing Niksar as a rich copper working centre.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that Niksar is near Horoztepe. The metal objects found in the tombs of the latter site (c. 2100 BC., excavator's date)<sup>15</sup> have parallels in the Dépôt de Fondation<sup>16</sup>.

In Eastern Anatolia a distinctive and homogeneous pottery was in use during the greater part of the third millennium.<sup>17</sup> This pottery is hand-made red-black burnished and decorated with incisions and low reliefs. Recent studies have shown that in this area lies the origin of the Syro-Palestinian Khirbet-Kerak wares.<sup>18</sup> But in the last quarter of the third millennium (EBIII) 'the cultural unity of this great zone completely vanishes'.<sup>19</sup> A new painted pottery with

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11. R.O. Arik, Les Fouilles d'Alaca Hoyuk (1935), tombs B.M., R.M. and T.M., pp. 53ff; H.Z. Kosay, Les Fouilles d'Alaca Hoyuk (1937-39), tombs H, D, E, F, K, L, S, pp. 153ff.
  12. T. Ozguc, M. Akok, Horoztepe.
  13. H.Z. Kosay, M. Akok, in Belleten, 14 (1950) pp. 481ff.
  14. T. Ozguc, in Anatolia VII (1963) p. 2.
  15. idem., Horoztepe, p. 58.
  16. Comp. ibid., Pl. III with BE, Pl. LIX: 370.
  17. C. Burney, ASt. VIII (1958) pp. 164, 167.
  18. S. Hood, ASt. I (1951) pp. 116-118; R. Amiran, IEJ 2 (1952) pp. 89-103; J.B. Hennessy, Foreign Relations P. 84.
  19. C. Burney, op.cit., p. 169.

Syrian and Cilician affinities appears, especially in the Malatya district,<sup>20</sup> as well as Syrian grey ring-burnished bottles.<sup>21</sup> It is believed that during the Akkadian/Ur III Dynasties, all kinds of metals were expertly used in Anatolia:<sup>22</sup> gold, silver, copper, bronze, electrum and even iron. It is also suggested that the work shops of these metal industries were placed mainly in east and north east Anatolia.<sup>22</sup> In this case Kultepe, Troy and other sites may have served as marketing or trading posts for this industry. Tarsus is the key site in the Cilician plain. At the end of EBII, a violent destruction befell the city,<sup>23</sup> but it was quickly rebuilt and it may also have been refortified.<sup>24</sup> The new culture (Tarsus EBIII) which arose after the destruction of the EBII city, is an intrusive one with a north western profile introducing for the first time the western architectural concept of the megaron (see chap. IIIA, note 124). Depas, tankards, wheel-made cross bowls appear in the early part of EBIII, while the latter part of that period is characterised by an influx of Syrian ceramics such as goblets, combed ware jars and grey burnished bottles.<sup>25</sup> This cultural change has been described as

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20. Ibid.

21. M. Mellink, in BiOr, XIX (1962) p. 226.

22. T. Ozguc, in Anatolia VII (1963) p. 11.

23. H. Goldman, Tarsus II, p. 32.

24. Ibid., pp. 8, 348.

25. M. Mellink, op.cit., p. 225 and Tarsus II, p. 62.



'striking and dramatic in its implication'.<sup>26</sup> EBIII also ended in great upheavals and conflagrations.<sup>27</sup>

In the Islahiye/Zincirli district, we have two very important key sites, Gedikli Huyuk and Tilmen Huyuk. Six building levels IIIa-f are assigned to the Early Bronze Age of Gedikli.<sup>28</sup> The city was fortified for the first time during IIb, a level which according to the excavator corresponds with Late Akkadian. In IIIa (dated to Ur III) the fortifications were rebuilt on the same lines.<sup>29</sup>

Contemporary with this level is a huge cemetery where bodies were partially cremated; the remaining bones were placed in clay ossuaries along with depas, Syrian burnished bottles, chalices and ?bronze toggle pins.<sup>30</sup> Level IIIa was destroyed in a violent conflagration.<sup>31</sup>

Tilmen Huyuk<sup>32</sup> presents even a clearer and a more interesting sequence. Beneath the Middle Bronze Age levels (IIIa-IIb), two homogeneous levels, IIc-IIId, contained Syrian grey ring-burnished bottles, fruit stands,

26. H. Goldman, op.cit., p. 131.

27. ibid., pp. 40 and 348ff.

28. U.B. Alkim and H. Alkim in, Bulleten, 30 (1966), pp. 28-57.

29. Ibid., p. 37.

30. Ibid., pp. 44-46, Anatolica 2 (1966) p. 12.

31. Ibid., p. 36.

32. U.B. Alkim, in Orientalia, N.S. XXXII (1963), pp. 76ff.  
ibid., N.S. XXXIII (1964) pp. 503ff.

and chalices.<sup>33</sup> These two levels correspond to Gedikli IIIa. Levels, IIIe-IIIg, at Tilmen, which correspond to Gedikli IIIb yielded Sargonid pottery almost identical to contemporary vessels from Brak and Chagar-Bazar. Along with these, the excavators found corrugated goblets of Amuq I-J and Hama J.<sup>34</sup>

Troy, the key site in the north west is the last site to be discussed from Anatolia. Its chronology is still subject to great disputes among archaeologists. Three different dates are upheld by different scholars which roughly correspond to high, middle and low chronology. Blegen,<sup>35</sup> Mellaart<sup>36</sup> and Burney<sup>37</sup> date the destruction of Troy II to c. 2300 BC. Mellink<sup>38</sup> and Hrouda<sup>39</sup> among many others equate Troy II with Anatolian Early Bronze Age III, a period which is generally considered to be contemporary with the Akkadian era in Mesopotamia. R. Maxwell-Hyslop<sup>40</sup> following Hood and Alp and after a study of the metal work of both Mesopotamia and the rich deposits of Troy IIg<sup>41</sup>

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33. Ibid., pp. 505-506.

34. Ibid., p. 506.

35. C. Blegen, in CAH2 (1971) chap. XVIII, part VII.

36. J. Mellaart, in CAH2, 8 (1962) pp. 43ff.

37. E. Burney, in AST, VIII (1958) chronological chart.

38. M. Mellink, in Chronologies, chart, p. 126.

39. B. Hrouda, Vorder Asien, table 2, p. 315.

40. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery, p. 60.

41. All the rich deposits uncovered at Troy are assigned by Blegen to Troy IIg. See CAH2 (1971) chap. XVIII, part VII, p. 415.

Table 10.

	Troy	Kultepe	Malatya	Tarsus	Gedikli	Tilmen
Akkad	II a	IIIC	IIIA	IIIA	IIIB 1st fortif.	III c-g
		IIIB		megaron		
		megaron				
Ur III	g ? Dest.	IIIA bottles Dest.	IIIB bottles	IIIB bottles Dest.	IIIA 2nd fortif. bottles Dest.	III c-d bottles

fortif. = fortification  
Dest. = destruction



favours a date for the beginning of Troy II as low as 2100 BC.

If this dating proves to be true it implies a general lowering of all Anatolian dates. It is interesting to note that several items of the Troy deposits have counterparts at Byblos. One of these is a double-headed<sup>42</sup> pin found in the Baalat complex and assigned in this study to bâtiment II of periods JI/JII.

The accompanying chart summarises the stratigraphical and chronological situation in Anatolia during the Akka/Ur III Dynasties.

### Syria.

Recent excavations have contributed a great deal to our knowledge of North Syrian archaeology during the last quarter of the third mill. BC. They have also clarified certain complicated aspects from sites which have been excavated earlier in the century but the stratigraphy of which is not clearly understood.

It was discussed above in chap. III (p. 341, note 135) that Mari had two architectural strata which corresponded to the Akkadian/Ur III Dynasties. The literary evidence (ibid., note 169) as well as the pottery from the site corroborates this dating (see below under ceramic links). Two important types of Syrian bottles, the grey-ring burnished bottles<sup>43</sup> and the Hama J painted bottles<sup>44</sup> were found here. Both types are useful for tracing cultural links and for chronological correlations.

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42 See fig. 13, analysis of phases 6/7, no. 341.

43 A. Parrot, MAMI, fig. 106: 690, 692.

44 Ibid., fig. 109: 787.

Tell Brak's most important remains belong to the Akkadian stratum.<sup>45</sup>

A huge palace/fortress was built by Naramsin 'for the express purpose of guarding his lines of communication with Asia Minor'.<sup>46</sup>

It is believed that this palace/fortress was destroyed by the Gutians only to be rebuilt later during the Ur III period.<sup>47</sup> Several

hoards of Sargonid jewellery were found hidden in clay vessels typical of the Akkad/Ur III ceramic styles.<sup>48</sup> Dark grey burnished bottles with long necks and globular bodies predominate here.<sup>49</sup>

Tell Shuaira which lies between the Habur and Balikh tributaries of the Euphrates, has yielded two fine strata of Akkadian and Ur III periods (see chap. IIIA, pp. 340f for the successive Anten temples of Akkad/Ur III levels). Bottles similar to the Brak and Mari types were found in these two strata.<sup>50</sup>

Tell Jidla which lies on the Balikh river, was fortified for the first time during the Akkadian period.<sup>51</sup> The pottery from this site is very similar to contemporary Brak and Chagar-Bazar.

45. M.E. Mallowan, IRAQ, IX (1947).

46. Idem, in Iran, III (1965) p.2.

47. Idem., op.cit. pp. 25ff.

48. Ibid., Pls. XXXIV, LXV: 5, pp. 71-74 (see catalogue).

49. Ibid., Pl. LXXI.

50. A. Moortgat, Tell Chuera, 1960, Abb. 6.

51. M.E. Mallowan, Iraq, VIII (1946) pp. 129ff.

Further north on the bend of the Euphrates, recent excavations at Selenkahiya<sup>52</sup> have uncovered an important city. The earliest settlement, level 1, goes back to the early Dynastic period. The three succeeding levels 2-4 span both the Akkadian and Ur III Dynasties. The site was fortified for the first time during level 2. Level 4, which according to the excavator is contemporary with Ur III, ended in a great conflagration. The pottery from levels 2-4 formed a homogeneous group comparable to that of the caliciform of Hama J8-5.

The inscriptions from the huge site, tell Mardikh (250 acres), have proved beyond doubt that the tell corresponds to ancient Ebla (see chap. IIIA, note 158), corroborating the historical authenticity of the Akkadian documents. Paulo Mathiae<sup>53</sup> assigns period II (the most important period in the history of the site) to the Akkad/Ur III Dynasties, where pottery finds and works of art confirm this dating. During this period the city was surrounded by a huge wall, the thickness of which is c. 40m at the base. The pottery of period II is that of the caliciform ware of Hama J.

It is unfortunate that the American expedition to the 'Amuq<sup>54</sup> limited their excavations to narrow soundings where information regarding the architecture is very scanty. The pottery yield on the other hand

52. M. van Loon, in AJA 73 (1969) pp. 276-277.

53. See chap. IIIA, footnotes 144, 145.

54. R.J. Braidwood and L. Braidwood, 'Amuq.



was quite generous. The standard pottery types of periods I and J, simple ware and painted simple ware including corrugated cups, goblets and chalices are standard types for pottery synchronizations. A grey ring-burnished bottle as well as a Trojan depas were found in level J.<sup>55</sup> The excavator dates<sup>56</sup> phase I to the latter part of EDIII and Proto-Imperial Mesopotamia, whereas phase J is supposed to have covered the Akkadian/Ur III periods. However, other archaeologists<sup>57</sup> equate phase I with the Akkadian period and phase J with Ur III.

Hama<sup>58</sup> is the most important site on the Orontes. Carbon 14 dates show that Hama J8-JI must have spanned the whole of Akkad/Ur III periods to after 2000BC. The three C14 dates for Hama are:<sup>59</sup>

K-530	Level J6	2310 $\pm$ 140 BC.
K-531	Level J5	2230 $\pm$ 120 BC.
K-533	Levels J4/5	2210 $\pm$ 120 BC.

The homogeneity of the pottery of the J levels and the consistent C14 dates for these levels, have made it in fact the standard site for chronological correlations. Moreover, the architecture from these levels revealed an extensive and thriving settlement.<sup>60</sup>

55. Ibid., figs. 348, 349.

56. Ibid., pp. 521-523.

57. See for ex. M Mellink, in Chronologies, chart, p. 126. B. Hrouda in note 39, supra.

58. E. Fugmann, Hama.

59. Ibid., pp. 281ff.

60. Ibid., chap. V, figs. 57, etc.

The general picture that can be deduced from this brief survey is that flourishing autonomous city-states existed during the Akkad/Ur III periods all over Syria and Anatolia. Many of these reached their apogee during these two periods and several of the sites were fortified for the first time. The great amount of metal tools, weapons and jewellery recovered from these sites, testifies to an extensive and vigorous metal industry which probably had been the focal point of ancient trade (see chap. III). It is during these two periods that Mesopotamian influence becomes paramount replacing the Egyptian influence on the Mediterranean. Evidence for this is best seen in the JI/JII culture of Byblos.

## 2. Ceramic Links with Syria, Anatolia & Mesopotamia.

The diversity of forms and techniques of JI/JII pottery in contrast to the homogeneity evidenced in KI/KIV ceramics has been fully discussed in chap. II. In this context a brief discussion will be given on the links and possible origins of certain diagnostic features of the ceramics of these two periods.

### Surface decoration.

Rilling: It was seen above that this term is applied to the technique of wheel-made spiral incisions effected through paint so as to reveal the colour of the clay which usually contrasts with the paint or the thick slip covering the vessel or part of it (Pl. LIII: H1, H2, J1). This technique is used in the 'Amuq,<sup>61</sup> level J, on vessels painted with large black bands. At Hama, level J, dark grey vessels treated

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61. R. & L. Braidwood, 'Amuq, fig. 342: 4-5, 343: 15, 344: 9-11, p. 443 (henceforth only 'Amuq).

Table 11.

	'Amuq	Brak	Mari	Hama	Shuaira	Mardikh	Selenkahiyya
Akkad	I late	Naram- Sin Palace	Temples Dagan and Ninkhur- sag	J8- 4	Anten temples	II	2 1st fortif.
							3
Ur III	J	Ur-Nameru	Palace	J4-1		II	4  Dest.

fortif = fortification  
Dest = Destruction



in this way have their upper parts painted white.<sup>62</sup> These vessels fall under class GII according to Ingholt's nomenclature. Braidwood believes that the method of corrugating the surface of vessels is 'the result of re-adaptation of the old reserved-slip technique'.<sup>63</sup> Similar examples occur at Qatna,<sup>64</sup> tomb IV and tell 'As,<sup>65</sup> tomb II. Related wares are vessels with wheel spiral incisions on their upper parts, such as Hama vessels, type GI, Til-Barsib<sup>67</sup> goblets, the grey ring burnished bottles which appear on practically every known site during the Akkad/Ur III periods<sup>68</sup> (reference to these vessels has been made in sec. B1above).

Paint: most varieties of painted decoration of Byblos JI/JII occur in the 'Amuq, phases I and J. These consist of lattice patterns<sup>69</sup> (Pl. LIV: KI) combined with pendants<sup>70</sup> (ibid., F/Je) or mainly pendants<sup>71</sup>

62. H. Ingholt, RPS, pp. 30-31.

63. R. & L. Braidwood, op.cit., p. 413.

64. Du Mesnil du Buisson, Mishrife-Qatna, class q and r of tomb IV, pp. 149-151, 159.

65. Idem, in Syria XIII (1932) Pl. XXXIX: 32, 36, Pl. XLI: 36, 46, Pl. XL: 58.

66. H. Ingholt, op.cit., pp. 29-30, note 6; E. Fugmann, Hama, figs. 75: 3C646, 3F889, 93: 3F583, 98: 3H85, 65: 3F3. 3D317.

67. F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, Til-Barsib, Pl. XX:3-12, p. 99.

68. Seesection B1above, footnotes 7, 21, 25, 30, 33, 43, 49, 50, 55.

69. 'Amuq, fig. 318:2 (phase I), figs. 343: 6, 9, 344: 18, 24 (phase J).

70. Ibid., fig. 318: 5 (phase I).

71. Ibid., fig. 317: 6-8 (phase I), fig. 344: 22, 23 (phase J).

(ibid., F/Jc) as well as oblique strokes on rims and handles<sup>72</sup> (ibid., K1, F/Jc). The latter form of decoration becomes characteristic of EBIII Malataya.<sup>73</sup> It appears at Alalakh XIV<sup>74</sup> and continues through levels XII and XI.

A few sherds which were found in the uppermost levels of 'Amuq, phase I, have creamy spiral lines<sup>75</sup> similar to the surface decoration of the Byblite jug, type A7 (Pls. LV, LVII, LXXIV). It is suggested that the method of applying creamy spiral lines on a dark background is 'an extension of the reserved slip and corrugation tradition'<sup>76</sup> referred to above. In fact this form of surface decoration is characteristic of Hama J<sup>77</sup> where it appears on goblets and jugs of group GII.

Very popular in 'Amuq J, are white parallel horizontal bands on a black surface<sup>78</sup> similar to the decoration applied on teapot, type L (Pl. LV). Painted teapots identical to type L appear at Yabroud<sup>79</sup>

72. Ibid., figs. 343: 7, 14, 344: 2, 8 (strokes on handles), fig. 343: 3, 9, 11, 14 (strokes on rims - phase J) p. 443.

73. E. Burney, in AST, VIII (1958) p. 205.

74. C.L. Woolley, Alalakh, Pl. LXXXIV: d (level XIV), Pl. XCI (level XII), Pl. LXXXV: a (level XI, upper row).

75. 'Amuq, fig. 321, pp. 417, 419.

76. Ibid., p. 417.

77. H. Ingholt, RPS, pp. 30-31; E. Fugmann, Hama, figs. 64: 3G216, 85: 3E314, 93: 3F596, 103: 3F716.

78. 'Amuq, figs. 342: 8, 343: 2-4, 344: 1, 5-6, 19-21 (phase J), p. 44.

79. A. Abu-Assaf, in AAAS, XVII (1967) Pl. III: 23-24, p. 59.

and Megiddo.<sup>80</sup> This form of surface decoration is also used on vessels from Hama,<sup>81</sup> Qatna<sup>82</sup> and 'Amrith<sup>83</sup> but not necessarily on a black background.

#### Forms.

Vase pot, type H4 (Pl. LIII): is an excellent criterion for chronological correlations because of its wide distribution. This type is referred to as the 'squat bottle' and appears in Mesopotamia in the Early Dynastic period, but its floruit is Sargonid to Ur III.<sup>84</sup> The closest parallels to the Byblos vase come from Chagar-Bazar-level 2,<sup>85</sup> Tello-Sargonid to Ur III,<sup>86</sup> and most probably from an Ur III level at Mari.<sup>87</sup> Similar forms appear in Gawra<sup>88</sup> VI and V,

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80. P.L.O. Guy, Megiddo Tombs, Pls. 11: 28-33, 22: 4-5.
81. E. Fugmann, Hama, level J5, fig. 75: 3D775.
82. Du Mesnil du Buisson, Mishrife-Qatna, tomb IV: 43 bis, 105, 117, pp. 159-161.
83. M. Dunand et al, in AAAS, IV-V (1954-55), p. 199.
84. P. Delougaz, PDR, Pl. 164 nos. B.664.520b (EDI) and B.664.520c (EDII) have long narrow necks. The Sargonid and Ur III bottles have shorter and wider necks with rolled rims and bulging bodies similar to the Byblos vessel, cf. ibid., nos. B664.540a, B.663.520, Pl. 144: A.653.540 (late Agade).
85. M. Mallowan, in Iraq IV (1937) fig. 17: 19, p. 141.
86. H. de Genouillac, Telloh I, Pl. XII: 868, 590, 1295, p. 73. Idem, Telloh II, Pl. XXXI: 3348, 5613 (Ur III).
87. A. Parrot, MAM I, fig. 109: 937. The excavator dates it to beginning of 2nd mill. BC., but most probably it belongs to the Ur III level which has been referred to in chap. IIIA, note 135. The appearance of a painted bottle along with it similar to the Hama J painted bottles favours an Ur III date.
88. E. Speiser, Tepe-Gawra I, Pl. LXIX: 125, 126, stratum VI, Sargonid Pl. LXXI: 154, stratum V (Ur III-?).



Ashur-level F<sup>89</sup> and tell Jidle-Sargonid.<sup>90</sup>

The appearance of vase pot, type H7 (Pl. LIII) in a JI/JII context at Byblos is rather surprising because similar vessels known as 'suspension pots', are attributed to Nineveh V.<sup>91</sup> However, it is clear from the report of the excavator of Nineveh that the context of such vessels is doubtful.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, Moortgat<sup>93</sup> uncovered Nineveh 5... wares in a Sargonid level in Northern Mesopotamia.

Vase pot, type H5 (Pl. LIII): is exclusive to periods JI/JII. The form is common in the Euphrates basin<sup>94</sup> and appears at Gawra<sup>95</sup> VI attributed to the Sargonid period.

89. W. Andrae, DAITA, Pl. 26e, Sargonid.
90. M. Mallowan, in Iraq, VIII (1946) fig. 9: 14, p. 146 level 5.
91. M. Mallowan, in Iraq, IX (1947) p. 252.
92. C. Thompson and R.W. Hamilton, in LAAA, vol. XIX (1932) Pl. LVIII: 17, pp. 83-86.
93. A. Moortgat, in AAAS, VII (1957) pp. 17-30.
94. A. Parrot, MAM I, fig. 106: 877; cf. Til-Barsib, fig. 31, bottom row: E. Fugmann, Hama, level J4, fig. 85: 3H61.
95. E. Speiser, op.cit., Pl. LXVIII: 110, stratum VI (Sargonid).

Chalices, types J1, J2, J3 (Pl. LIII): have a very long history in Iran<sup>96</sup> and Mesopotamia.<sup>97</sup> These vessels do not appear at Byblos before JI/JII. Contemporary close parallels to the Byblite types are found at Hama,<sup>98</sup> J4, 'Amrith,<sup>99</sup> tell Jidle 5,<sup>100</sup> Brak<sup>101</sup> and tell Shuaira,<sup>102</sup> in a Sargonid to Ur III context. Similar types occur in 'Amuq J,<sup>103</sup> Til-Barsib hypogeum,<sup>104</sup> Amarna,<sup>105</sup> Kara-Kuzak,<sup>106</sup> tell 'As,<sup>107</sup> Tilmen<sup>108</sup> and Gedikli Huyuks.<sup>109</sup>

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96. E.F. Schmidt, Tepe-Hissar, Pls. XX-XXIII, Hissar IIa: R. Girshman, Fouilles de Sialk pre de Kashan, the chalice appears in all early levels at Sialk III and IV. T.J. Arne, Shah Tepe, p. 183, stratum III-IIb.
97. M. Mallowan, in CAH2, 62 (1968) p. 57.
98. E. Fugmann, Hama, fig. 85: 3F834.
99. M. Dunand et al., in AAAS, IV-V (1954-55) Pl. III: 1.
100. M. Mallowan, in Iraq, VIII (1946) fig. 9: 10, p. 146.
101. Idem, Iraq IX (1947) Pl. LXIX: 1, p. 227 (Sargonid to Ur III).
102. A. Moortgat, tell Chuera 5th camp. (1967) Abb. 28, Sargonid to Ur III.
103. 'Amuq, fig. 338: 14.
104. F. Th. Dangin & M. Dunand, Til-Barsib, fig. 30, 3rd row from bottom, extreme left.
105. C.L. Woolley, in LAAA VI (1914) Pl. XXII: 7.
106. Ibid., Pl. XXVb, second from right.
107. Du Mesnil Du Buisson, in note 65, Pl. XLI: tomb V, no. 2.
108. U.B. Alkim in Orientalia, N.S. XXXII (1963) Tab. V, Abb. 12 (end of 3rd mill. BC.)
109. U.B. and H. Alkim, in Belleten, 30 (1966), fig. 41 (EBII), fig. 32, end of EBIII.

The innovating features of the two <sup>handled juglet</sup> / Pl. LIV) are the surface decoration (discussed above) and the circular handles (see below under cup N5). The form, however, is in the Levantine tradition. In fact, a similar amphora comes from tomb F2 at Jericho<sup>110</sup> except that its handles are placed on the shoulders.

Pot, type KI (Pl. LIV): globular pots are very common on the Euphrates<sup>111</sup> in Sargonid contexts, but they do not have the same decoration as the Byblos pot. A very close parallel in form and decoration to pot KI occurs in 'Amuq J.<sup>112</sup>

Teapot,<sup>113</sup> type L (Pl. LV): reference to this pot and its surface decoration has been treated above under Paint (cf. notes 79, 80 supra). Sherds from tell Simiryan<sup>114</sup> indicate that similar teapots were used there also.

110. K. Kenyon, Jericho I, fig. 60: 15.

111. M. Mallowan, in Iraq IX (1947) Pl. LXXXI: 3, p. 250: Iraq VIII (1946) fig. 9: 5, p. 146 (tell Jidle, level 5). Iraq, IV (1937) fig. 17: 2, p. 140, Germayir level 2. F. Th.-Dangin and Dunand, Til-Barsib, Pl. XXII: 8.

112. 'Amuq, fig. 343: 9, pp. 443-444.

113. For a discussion of this type of teapot, see Engberg and Shipton, Notes: R. Amiran, in IEJ, 10 (1960) pp. 209 ff.

114. R. Braidwood, in Syria, XXI (1940) fig. 21: 6, 8, p. 215.



Pots, types K7, K8 (Pl. LVI): these forms appear to be popular in the Orontes valley - at Hama J,<sup>115</sup> tell 'As<sup>116</sup> tombs I, II and III, and at Qatna.<sup>117</sup>

Jar E8 (Pl. LIV): it is related by its surface treatment to the rilled ware discussed above. However, the form is unmistakably close to the caliciform ware of Hama J.<sup>118</sup> Similar jars appear at tell-Beit-Mirsim.<sup>119</sup> This type of jars has been fully treated by several authorities.<sup>120</sup>

Bottle, type G (Pl. LV): is a significant form for chronological correlations. Apparently these bottles are contemporary to the grey ring burnished bottles discussed in section B (see note 68 supra) because both types occur in the same context at Gedikli Huyuk<sup>121</sup> and at Brak.<sup>122</sup>

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115. E. Fugmann, Hama, level J8, fig. 58: 3j79, level J5, fig. 75: 3E219.
116. Du Mesnil du Buisson, Pl. XXXIX: 2nd row no. 11, Pl. XLI: 3rd row no. 17, Pl. XL, top row no. 28.
117. Idem, in Syria XI (1930) Pl. XXXII, column 1, 2nd jar from bottom, column 2, bottom jar.
118. E. Fugmann, Hama, level J6, fig. 64: 3D147, fig. 93: 3D422, level J3.
119. W. Albright, in AASOR XIII (1933) Pl. 2, pp. 62 ff.
120. W. Albright, loc.cit.; K. Kenyon, Amorites and Canaanites, pp. 23ff.; R. Amiran, in IEJ, 10 (1960) pp. 209ff.
121. U.B. and H. Alkim, op.cit., fig. 32, p. 46 (cremation burials).
122. M. Mallowan, Iraq IX (1947) comp. Pl. LXV: 12, p. 220 (has a ring base similar to type G) with ibid., Pl. LXXI: 1-3, 5-9, pp. 230-231. Both types are Sargonid to Ur III.

A bottle similar to Byblos type G, and having the same ring base, was found at Kultepe,<sup>123</sup> level IIIA.

Jug, type A7 (Pls. LV, LVII, LXXIV): jugs are fairly common in most of the sites discussed above. The closest parallels to type A7, are found at 'Amrith,<sup>124</sup> Hama J,<sup>125</sup> tell Masin<sup>126</sup> and 'Amuq<sup>127</sup> phases I-J.

Goblets, types M1-2, M4-5 (Pl. LX): goblets form the hall mark of the ceramic repertoires of sites along the Orontes contemporary to Hama J, as well as in the 'Amuq<sup>130</sup> during phase J. However, the Byblos goblets are more related by their forms to Sargonid/Ur III goblets found on the Euphrates at Brak,<sup>131</sup> Chagar Bazar<sup>132</sup> and Germayir.<sup>133</sup> Very close parallels to both the footed goblets M1-2 and the flat-based goblets M4-5, are found at Tarsus<sup>134</sup> EBIII, a period which is contemporary to Akkad/Ur III Dynasties (see table 10).

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123. N. Ozguc, in Belleten, 21 (1957), fig. 27, p. 78.
124. M. Dunand et al, in AAAS, IV-V (1954-55) Pl. III:1, p. 199.
125. E. Fugmann, Hama, level J8, fig. 58: 3H878, level J6, fig. 64: 3G915, J5, fig. 74: 3F210, J4, fig. 85: 3E314, etc. See also H. Ingholt, RPS, p. 31.
126. Du Mesnil du Buisson, in Berytus II (1935) Pl. XLIX: 2.
127. 'Amuq, phase I, fig. 318: 4, phase J, fig. 342: 2-3 & 8.
128. For all these sites, see Du Mesnil du Buisson in Syria XI (1930) pp. Syria XIII (1932) pp. 185 ff., Berytus II (1935) pp. 24 ff., Mishrife-Qatna.
129. H. Ingholt RPS, pp. 30 ff., E. Fugmann, Hama, levels J8-1.
130. 'Amuq, phase J, figs. 338, 342: 4-8, pp. 439 ff.
131. Goblets similar to types M1-2, see M. Mallowan, in Iraq IX (1947) Pl. LXXV: 15-16, pp. 235-237; Parallels to goblets M4-5, see ibid., Pl. LXXII, p. 232.
132. Idem, in Iraq, IV (1937) fig. 15: 5, 7-8, similar to goblets M4-5.
133. Ibid., fig. 15: 4, p. 139, similar to goblets M1-2.
134. H. Goldman, Tarsus II, Pl. 357: 519, Pl. 268: 517-518, similar to goblets M1-2, Pl. 268: 516 similar to goblets M4-5.

Cup, type N5 (Pl. LVII): is unique at Byblos. Its decoration, black exterior with red interior, recalls the khirbet-Kerak ware. But this cup is wheel-made. However, the shiny smooth slip that covers this cup is essentially Anatolian in character.<sup>135</sup> The large loop handle is another Anatolian characteristic.<sup>136</sup> In fact this type of cup persists in Anatolia for very long periods. It appears plain at Kultepe, level IIIC,<sup>137</sup> and along with painted examples in levels IIIB, IIIA.<sup>138</sup> All these cups, however, have the distinctive high loop handles. Similar cups are also found in contemporary levels at Alishar.<sup>139</sup> It is most probable therefore that it is from this region that the JI/JII large circular handles have been derived.

The Votive cups (Pls. LXI, LXXV): are miniature cups, found only in association with temples. These have been quoted as parallels<sup>140</sup> to the cups found in sanctuary A at 'Ai. But in fact the 'Ai cups are much larger than the Byblos cups and their forms are different.<sup>141</sup> It has also been suggested that such cups are imitations of Egyptian model stone vases.<sup>142</sup> Comparisons with Egypt are excluded here, as

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135. J. Mellaart, in CAH2, 8 (1962) p. 18.

136. For a convenient summary of the origin and distribution of the loop handle in Anatolia - see J.B. Hennessy, op.cit. p. 38.

137. N. Ozguc, op.cit. fig, 30, p. 80.

138. Ibid., figs. 35-37, 42-43, 49-50.

139. H.H. von der Osten, Alishar, OIPXXVIII, figs. 250 (Early Bronze Age, 178, 179 (Copper Age).

140. G.E. Wright, PPEB, p. 77.

141. Comp. 'Ai Pl. LII with pls. LXI, LXXV in this study.

142. G.E. Wright, op.cit., p. 76, K. Kenyon Archaeology in the Holy Land, pp. 116-117.



this class of pottery did not appear at Byblos when links with the former country were very strong. It is unlikely therefore, that imitations of Egyptian wares would appear at the site when relations with that country had almost stopped, and a new culture had replaced the earlier one (chap. II).

Numerous miniatures similar to the Byblos cups have been found at Hama J;<sup>143</sup> a few others occur in the tombs of tell-As,<sup>144</sup> and Qatna.<sup>145</sup> Small cups were found in the hypogeum of Til-Barsib,<sup>146</sup> but these have a more careful surface finish (ring-burnished). The Byblos specimens are simply plain without burnish, slip or paint. Further east, small metal cups were recovered from the Royal cemetery of Ur.<sup>147</sup>

Miniature stone cups occur in Crete in the Mesara tombs.<sup>148</sup> Similar cups were found in great quantities in the rounded tholos of Kamilari<sup>150</sup> which was built in Middle Minoan I. A cult set containing eleven miniature stone cups were recovered from the palace of Phaistos,<sup>151</sup> the date of which is Middle Minoan II. These cups were originally covered with gold leaf, traces of which still appear on their surfaces. It cannot be proved whether Byblos influenced Crete in this respect.

- 143. E. Fugmann, Hama, figs. 62: 3H146, 65: 2nd row from top right, 74: 2nd column from right, 75: 3B345, 3E176, etc.
- 144. Du Mesnil du Buisson, Syria, XIII (1932) Pl. XLI, bottom row, no. 24 (tomb I).
- 145. Idem, Syria, XI (1930) Pl. XXXIII: 167 ter (left column, tomb IV)
- 146. Thureau-Dangin & Dunand, M. Til-Barsib, Pl. XX:8-9.
- 147. C.L. Woolley, The Royal Cemetery, Pl. 234:40.
- 148. P. Warren, Minoan Stone Vases, p. 44 (type 20).
- 149. Ibid.
- 150. D. Levi, in Annuario, XXXIX-XL (1961-62) fig. 120c, p. 91.
- 151. Ibid., XXX-XXXII (1952-54) fig. 33, p. 413, P. Walten, op.cit.

Relations between Crete and Byblos require extensive research and a study from every angle, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation. It is clear from the above brief survey that ceramic correlations also link Byblos with the north, mainly the 'Amuq valley, the Euphrates and Orontes sites. Mesopotamian links are seen in the specific pottery forms, vase pots H4 and H7 (Pl. LIII).

Cup N5 (Pl. LX) as well as the spray motif on the amphorae (Pl. LXXIV, F/J) are most probably of Anatolian origin.

A study of the metal finds at Byblos (Pls. LXVIII-LXX) would provide further confirmation for such links.<sup>152</sup> Anatolia is perhaps the source of certain metal types.<sup>153</sup>

Relations with Palestine are almost confined to Megiddo (in-antis temples and teapots).

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p. 45 (P254).

152. This subject is left for future studies on Byblos.

153. See Przeworski, in Syria, XXI (1940) pp. 61 ff, where he discusses the possibility of the cult of the stag in Anatolia because of the extensive figurative appearance of this animal in the metalwork of that country. Comp. with Pl. LXVIII in this study.

The jar quoted above (p. 417, type E8) does not furnish good evidence for relations with Palestine. The similarity alluded to <sup>154</sup>, is in the form only, whereas the technique is totally different.

The cultural aspects of Palestine, except Megiddo, during the EB-MB (hand-made pottery, un-walled settlements and lack of architecture)<sup>155</sup> reflect a completely different milieu than Byblos II/JII.

Apparently, Palestine did not participate in the trade activities discussed above (chap. IIIA: 2b) which induced the construction of impressive town walls, the spread of a uniform architectural concept (the in-antis temple), as well as other artifacts.

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With the collapse of the Ur III Empire, practically every known site or trading post was destroyed including Byblos JII. Stratigraphical and chronological records from Syria and Anatolia show clearly this destruction phenomenon which is very well marked in the stratigraphy of Byblos (cf. tables 10-12).

154 W. Albright, in AASOR XIII(1933) p. 63. The jars of T. Beit-Mirsim are all hand-made, whereas the specimen from Byblos is wheel-made and has a shiny black slip.

155 K. Kenyon, in CAH2, 29(1965)pp. 38ff.; K. Prag, in Levant VI (1974)pp. 70ff.

156 C.J. Gadd, in CAH2, 28(1965)pp. 33ff.



Addenda.

The white spotted ware (Pl. LXIV): this group falls outside the time limit of this study, but it was considered important to include certain remarks about its chronology and links.<sup>1</sup> It was seen above that the range of this ware at Byblos is period H (chap. II). A deposit of this ware occurs along with the jar deposits of the Baalat complex (fig. 13, phase 8) assigned to the early part of periods H. This ware continues to be used during the second part of the latter periods, i.e. during the floruit of the tell el-Yahudie ware, because a sherd of this fabric was found in a tomb of that period (cf. chap. II). Close parallels to this ware have been found in Second Intermediate tombs at Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

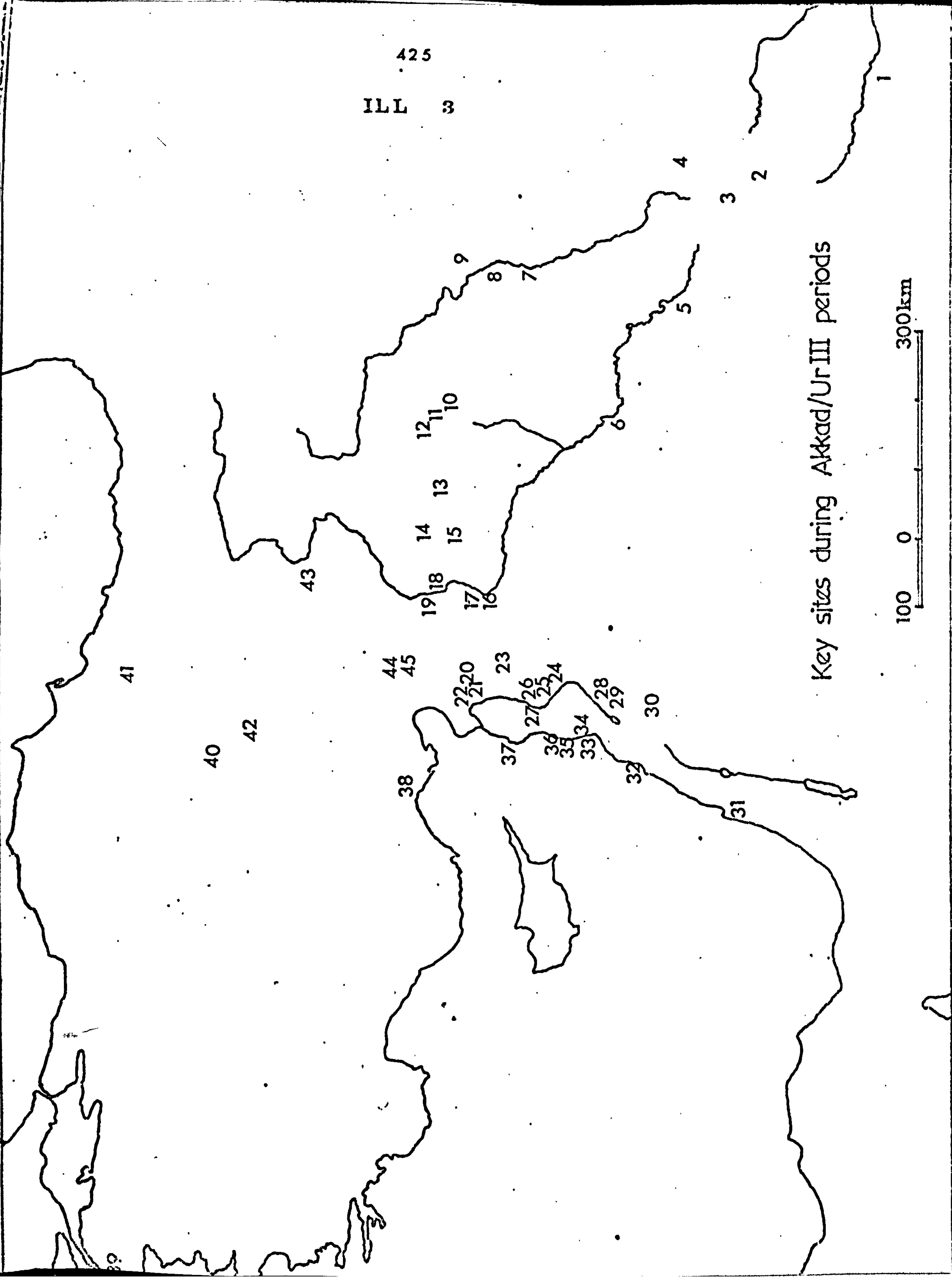
Similar examples from Crete occur in MMI to MMIII contexts.<sup>3</sup> It is suggested that white spots on a plain surface is an imitation of a kind of stone called liparite by Evans (corrected by Renfrew as a form of obsidian).<sup>4</sup> The range in these three different and widely separated countries proves the validity of the date proposed in this study as a result of the evidence obtained from the reconstruction of the city.

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1. Recent studies have attributed this ware to the end of the third millennium, see O. Negbi, in *Levant*, 4 (1972) pp. 98ff. as well as to the Early Bronze Age, see R. Amiran in *Levant* VI (1974) pp. 65 ff.
  2. T.E. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, fig. XIII, 1-2, p. 66.
  3. A. Evans, *PMI*, fig. 127F (MMI) pp. 177-179, Pl. IV, the saffron gatherer (MMII), fig. 298, 299a (MMIII) pp. 412-415.
  4. P. Warren, *Minoan Stone Vases*, p. 135.

Table 12.

	Byblos	Hama	'Amuq	Mardikh	Selenkah.	Kultepe	Gedikli	Tarsus	Megiddo
Akkad.				II					
		J8	late		2	IIIC	IIIB	IIIA	
			I						Level
Ur III					3	IIIB			XV
		4			4	IIIA	IIIA	IIIB	
	JII	J4		II					?
	Dest.	J1	Dest.	Dest.	Dest.	Dest.	Dest.	Dest.	

Dest = Destruction.



Key sites during Akkad/Ur III periods

100 0 300km



- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Ur             | 24. Hama       |
| 2. Kish           | 25. Tell Masin |
| 3. Sippar         | 26. Tell 'As   |
| 4. Tell Asmar     | 27. Shaikhoun  |
| 5. Hit (Tuttul)   | 28. Qatna      |
| 6. Mari           | 29. Qadesh     |
| 7. Ashur          | 30. Yabroud    |
| 8. Nineveh        | 31. Megiddo    |
| 9. Tepe-Gawra     | 32. Byblos     |
| 10. Brak          | 33. Smiryian   |
| 11. Chagar-Bazar  | 34. 'Amrit     |
| 12. Girmayir      | 35. Tell Suqas |
| 13. Shwaira       | 36. Q. El-Rous |
| 14. Harran        | 37. Ugarit     |
| 15. Tell Jidle    | 38. Tarsus     |
| 16. Selenkahiya   | 39. Troy       |
| 17. Habuba Kabira | 40. Alishar    |
| 18. Til-Barsib    | 41. Horoztepe  |
| 19. Carcemish     | 42. Kultepe    |
| 20. Judeidah      | 43. Malatya    |
| 21. Atchana       | 44. Gedikli H. |
| 22. Ta'inat       | 45. Tilmen H.  |
| 23. Mardikh       |                |

CHAPTER V.CONCLUSIONS AND CHRONOLOGY

Throughout, there has been an emphasis on the diagnostic nature of this study simply because it is based on schematically reconstructed architectural sections where obviously many details are missing. Such deficiencies of information preclude definitive conclusions from being made. However, the consistent results (in broad outline) obtained from the analysis of over sixty sections taken in different parts of the site, provide sufficient evidence to allow the construction of a framework for future study on Byblos. To recapitulate the salient features:

The detailed analysis of the reconstructed architectural sections yielded a sequence of archaeological periods beginning with period L, through KI/KIV, JI/JII and ending with period H. Despite the fact that both periods L and H were not subjected to a detailed analysis because they do not fall within the limits of the third millennium BC., which is the subject of this study, an appraisal of their stratigraphy and culture proved most rewarding.

The L period culture is represented by both jar and cave tombs.

The jar tombs are found either on virgin soil or overlying an earlier stratum of similar burials, the Énéolithique Ancien (Pl. XXXVII), below all levels of occupation (fig. 7 and 13a-b). The caves are located on the rocky escarpment in the north-west part of the city outside occupation levels (Plan I). However, the pottery in both types of burials is homogeneous and has strong affinities with Proto-Urban A.

Palestine<sup>1</sup> especially the northern sites (tell-el-Fara'h and Megiddo), (cf. Pl. XXXVIII-XLII). Stratigraphical and typological data therefore prove conclusively that the Byblos tombs cannot be culturally or chronologically linked with the EB-MB period of Palestine as Amiran<sup>2</sup> tries unconvincingly to prove in her article on the pottery of that period. There is evidence to suggest that this period may have lingered on and overlapped with the beginning of the Early Bronze Age I of Palestine<sup>3</sup> (chap. IVA p. 391 ). The stratigraphical evidence suggests that a short gap may have occurred between this period and the succeeding period KI (fig. 7c, 13a-b, 25a).

Based on ceramic evidence the beginning of period KI is securely tied to the reign of king Djet/Den of the 1st Egyptian Dynasty, and to the latter part of EBI Palestine (see chap. IVA: 2). This period is characterized by the appearance of the wheel-made, red-burnished pottery and the tentative attempts at producing standard architecture built in herring-bone masonry (Pl. XXXIII: 1). The ceramic industry of this period which appears on the site fully developed and in exclusion to earlier wares, precludes the possibility of a phase with a transitional character as envisaged by Dunand (his Installation III<sup>4</sup>). Present evidence from Byblos shows that this ceramic industry

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1. See chap. II, footnote 19.

2. R. Amiran, in IEJ, 10 (1960) pp. 204-225.

3. For the date of EBI Palestine, see Hennesy, Foreign Relations, p. 88, chart 9.

4. M. Dunand. in RB, 57 (1950), pp. 583, 590-593.



originated and had been in use somewhere else prior to its arrival at these areas.

Cylinder seals carved with motifs of Mesopotamian origin replaced the stamp seals of period L (cf. Pl. XLIV with Pl. XLV). Byblos was not surrounded by any defences during this period, in contrast to the tradition of fortified towns prevalent in contemporary Palestine. The stratigraphical and cultural records from Byblos (results of chap. IB and II) reveal a continuity between settlements KI and KII. Evidence from the sections (fig. 16, 23, 25) show that Byblos is probably still an unwallled settlement, but there is evidence of major building activity. The beginning of this period can be dated to the end of the 1st Dynasty (reign of king Qaa). A jug similar to that of Byblos KII, type A4, was found in the tomb of the latter. Earlier parallels to the pottery of Byblos KII which were found in the tomb of king Den, are most probably imports from Palestine as there is evidence to show that Byblos KII may have started later than Palestinian EBII, the beginning of which is contemporary with the reign of king Den. Besides, it is difficult to equate Byblos KII with the beginning of Palestine EBII (and with Den) since this would give Byblos KI, the beginning of which is dated to the reign of king Djet, a very unreasonably short duration.

Mesopotamian cultural influence which was felt in the introduction of the cylinder seal at the beginning of Byblos KI, seems to have become stronger now. The planning of bâtiment XVIII shows close affinities to the small temple at Khafaji (Pl. XXV: 5-6). Also the discovery of

an imported Mesopotamian lapis-lazuli cylinder seal (Pl. XLVI: 1285) of Fara style dated to Early Dynastic II, a period which is being equated with Palestine EBII,<sup>5</sup> strengthens the possibility of contacts with Mesopotamia during this period (it is regrettable that this seal was found on the surface and could not be related to an architectural phase).

The end of Byblos KII is clearly marked in the stratigraphy. The main temple, bâtiment XVIII is ravaged by fire (analysis of fig. 13, phase 4); blg XXXIV is totally destroyed leaving only its foundations (fig. 16). There is a gap in occupation of Unit C subsequent to blg V of period KII (fig. 3). These events, however, are local manifestations and do not indicate a desertion of the site since continuity of occupation is evidenced in most Areas.

Subsequent to the destruction of the main temple of period KII and a few other blgs, two important events took place. These are the construction of an Egyptianized temple (Pl. XII), the masonry of which is of hammer-dressed stones imitating brick-bonding (Pl. XVIII: 1), and probably of the first defence system of the town (Summaries to Areas V and VII). The building of these two architectural monuments heralds the beginning of period KIII. Ceramic correlations link Byblos KIII with Egypt, Dynasties III and IV, as well as with EBIII Palestine. Non-ceramic evidence linking Byblos KIII with Palestine EBIII is furnished by the exquisite masonry of the new temple, which is very similar to the masonry of the EBIII citadel at 'Ai. Callaway

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5. J.B. Hennessy, loc.cit.

identifies strong Egyptian influence in the masonry of this citadel (see chap. IIIA, note 65). Incidentally, the 'Ai citadel was constructed after the destruction by fire of the earlier EBII building. Could these two parallel events be manifestations of a common cause, and could they be related to the destruction of the EBII sites at Palestine? These questions give rise to interesting hypotheses, the verification of which requires further research and much needed documentation from the Egyptian side. However, the equation of Byblos KIII with Palestine EBIII is not without difficulties. Carbon 14 dates for the beginning of EBIII 'Ai are + 2700 BC. (see p.396). The present writer prefers a slightly lower date for the beginning of Byblos KIII, c. 2650 BC., so as to fit the ceramic evidence, since pottery of Byblos KIII is found in the tombs of the IIIrd and IVth Dynasties but not earlier (see chap. IVA: 1). The Khasekhemwy fragment from Byblos which is often cited as corroborative evidence for the early date of Installation VI<sup>6</sup>, which is considered to be contemporary with the beginning of Palestine EBIII,<sup>7</sup> should not be used as a basic evidence, for it was found on the surface. Besides, it can be suggested that there is nothing against having the Khasekhemwy fragment brought to Byblos during the reign of king Djoser when there is evidence of trade links between Egypt and Byblos (see chap. IVA: 1, note 65, p. 384). Moreover, the pyramid of Djoser contains a large amount of stone vases, the majority of which are inscribed with names of Ist and IInd Dynasty kings, whereas

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6. M. Dunand, in RB, 57 (1950) pp. 599, 603.

7. J.B. Hennessy, op.cit. p. 88.



not a single vase bears inscriptions of Djoser himself.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, a mud sealing of Khasekhemwy was found along with a sealing of Djoser in the eastern galleries of the pyramid, and a stone bowl inscribed with the name of Khasekhemwy was found in an apartment of the pyramid beneath the southern enclosure wall.<sup>9</sup> Obviously these arguments do not offer precise evidence for refuting the Khasekhemwy hypothesis, they merely suggest a probable alternative which in its turn proves the inherent weakness of using stone vessels, when these do not come from a stratified context, as dating tools.

The analysis of the reconstructed sections provides evidence for an important and final architectural stage of the K periods cultures. This final stage is Byblos KIV which is characterized by a general rebuilding of earlier houses, often reproduced on the same alignments but not without innovations. One striking feature of these innovations is the introduction of big audience halls (Dunand's *logis monocellulaire*) which display remarkable masonry (fig. 12, 12a, see also Summary to Area III).

The major temple of the city, the Baalat-Gebal, (or bâtiment XL at this stage) has been completely rebuilt on a grand scale (Pl. XIV-XVI). Egyptian influence in this temple is seen in the two main facades which recall the Sahure valley temple (Vth Dyn.), and the tectonic elements, which however have been given a native Byblite twist (Pl. IX: 3) by placing the sacred uraei within the curve of the cornice instead of having it decorate the top edge according to Egyptian usage (chap. IIIA, p. 337 ).

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8. W.S. Smith, in CAH2, 5 (1965) p. 4.

9. W.S. Smith, loc.cit.

The ceramic evidence links Byblos KIV with Dynasties V and VI.

This chronological correlation is corroborated by inscribed stone vessels found at Byblos within stratified contexts (see analysis of fig. 13, phase 5).

The end of Byblos KIV coincided with a great destruction, evidence of which is seen in the ravaged temples and the disturbed elements of several extant KIV buildings (see tables 1, 3-5 and 6-7).

Subsequent to this destruction, a new and vigorous culture appears at Byblos, represented by the two architectural stages JI/JII. The recognition of this period, which is well documented in the sections, and the evidence for its contemporaneity with Ur III, constitutes the most important and rewarding contribution of this present study.

Dunand gives the impression that the Early Bronze Age, represented by Installations III to VI, gave way to the Middle Bronze Age 'Epoque Amorite' after a cultural hiatus, of which we know very little save

its poor nomadic character as represented by the construction of the

'logis monocellulaire'.<sup>10</sup> It was seen above that these logis which display remarkable masonry are architectural innovations of period KIV.

Failure to diagnose the actual architecture of the period following the destruction of KIV, has led to many contradictions in the sequence of the site, both cultural and chronological. Criticisms of the excavator's conclusions, which appear to be based more on intuition than on archaeological facts, have been fully presented in the analysis of the temples' stratigraphy. Sufficient to recall here that the

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10. M. Dunand, in RB, 59 (1952) pp. 85 ff. (esp. p. 90), Idem., Supplement. columns 1162, 1165 ff.



excavator attributes the in-antis temples (batiment II, Pl. XVII; blg XIV, Pl. V; the Chapelle Orientale, Pl. XXIII; the Enceinte Sacrée, Pl. XXVIII: 8; the megaron, Pl. XXVI: 10; and the Champ des Offrandes, Pl. VIII, the reconstruction of which is difficult to achieve) to the Early Bronze Age without having evidence to support such attributions. It has been shown that these temples in fact belong to Byblos JI/JII and represent one aspect amongst several others, of cultural borrowing from the Syro-Anatolian cultural sphere. The pottery of these two periods (Pl. LIII-LXI) is a further link between Byblos and the north (see chap. IVB: 2). Furthermore, an Ur III tablet was found in the destruction level of a JI/JII building (cf. fig. 18) while historical records refer to an 'ensi of Byblos during the Ur III Dynasty (chap. IIIA, note 169) evidence that Byblos was either part of the Ur III Empire or more plausibly an independent city with a local ruler.<sup>11</sup>

Ill. 2 which is a distribution map of key sites during the Akkad/Ur III periods shows extensive settlements in Syria and Anatolia. Several of these towns which were fortified for the first time in their history reached impressive dimensions.<sup>12</sup> Tradewhich was controlled and organised to a great extent first by the Akkadian Empire, the initial date of which is earlier than Byblos JI/JII, and later by Ur III Dynasty which is contemporary to the latter (table 12) must have led to the flourish of many towns along the Euphrates, the Orontes, the coast and

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11. The title 'ensi can be used interchangeably for rulers under the suzerainty of Ur III and for independent rulers as well, see chap. III A, footnote 170.

12. The most striking example is tell Mardikh which occupied an area of 250 acres. see chap. IV b, p.407.



in strategic areas which command the trade routes across the Taurus leading to central Anatolia.<sup>13</sup>

The Anatolian EBIII sites, as well as 'Amouq I-J, Hama J, the Akkadian Ur III levels at tell Shuaira, tell Mardikh and other sites along the Euphrates and its tributaries exhibit a more or less similar culture to that of Byblos JI/JII and Megiddo XV (see chap. IV, section B, and tables 10-12).

Soon this era was destined to come to an end and signs of destruction and great disturbances appear all over the site. It is the beginning of period H which introduced the worship in open-air temples characterised by standing pillars or obelisks. These outwardly simple temples were accompanied by the richest finds at Byblos. Golden statuettes, ceremonial metal tools, figurines and numerous other objects were placed in jars or left loose hidden beneath the floors of these open-air sanctuaries. The beginning of this period precedes the appearance of the Palestinian MBI (Kenyon) or MBIIa (Albright) by a century to three quarters of a century. A structural phase (supported by stratigraphic and ceramic evidence) precedes the Abishemu period to whose reign Royal Tomb I is ascribed. This sequence is based on the stratigraphy of the Obelisk temple (cf. analysis of fig. 7-7a). If an ethnic label is to be given to the people of this

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13. See discussion in chap. IIIA: 2b.

period, it would certainly be Amorite,<sup>14</sup> since the names of the princes of Byblos are linguistically related to those who overthrew the Ur III rulers at Mesopotamia and established the Isin-Larsa Dynasties.<sup>15</sup>

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14. W. Albright, in BASOR, 155 (1959) p. 33, footnote 6;  
Idem, in BASOR, 179 (1965), p. 39.

15. C.J. Gadd, in CAH2, 28 (1965), pp. 34-35. I.J. Gelb,  
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